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ABSTRACT

Foreign student policy in six major receiving countries (Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Australia, and Canada) is presented. For each country considered, information is given on the following: (1) background; (2) recent developments; (3) enrollments and enrollment trends (enrollment by country of origin, distribution by level and sector, distribution by discipline, socioeconomic background and personal characteristics, geographic distribution of students, private colleges and universities, and student experiences); (4) policies and practices (recruitment, admissions, student welfare services, student response, curriculum, and returning students); (5) costs and expenditures (scholarship costs, direct costs, subsidized costs, and capital costs); (6) issues and arguments; and (7) conclusions. Results are discussed according to: choices; changes (destinations, origins, profiles, experiences, support services, graduate enrollments, enrollments by discipline, competition for talent, commercialization, and patterns of relationship); and challenges (technical education and cultural questions). Four appendices provide: conference proceedings ("Foreign Student Policies of the Major Host Countries," held at Princeton, New Jersey in June 1989); comparative foreign student expenditures; summary of foreign student enrollments; and a list of conference participants. Contains approximately 75 references. (SM)

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IIE Research Report Number Eighteen

OBLIGATION OR OPPORTUNITY

FOREIGN STUDENT POLICY IN SIX MAJOR RECEIVING COUNTRIES

ALICE CHANDLER
State University of New York College
at New Paltz

August 1989

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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To my mother, Jenny Meller Kogan,
who first taught me the meaning of internationalism

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INTRODUCTION

This study marks my second extended foray into foreign student policy. My first report, *Foreign Students and Government Policy: Britain, France, and Germany,*[1] was based on my travels through Western Europe in 1983. It showed the major European "receiving" countries emerging from a period in which foreign student enrollments were regarded very negatively, with a variety of efforts to constrict their flow. First appearing in Britain and France in about 1979, these protectionist policies were a reaction—probably an overreaction—to the seemingly limitless rise in foreign student numbers during the 1960s and 1970s. The new policies included increased foreign student tuition in Great Britain, tighter admissions standards in France, and, starting in the early 1980s, more restrictive visa requirements in Germany.

By 1983, however, the unanticipated consequences of these exclusionary policies were beginning to generate a new, more considered approach to foreign student policies, even though there were not yet any clear-cut policy goals. As I then observed the three major Western European receiving countries: Britain was still struggling with the aftermath of its imposition of "full-cost" fees for foreign students in 1979; France was refining its new admissions regulations; and Germany was attempting to reconcile the historic openness of its educational system with deep-seated concerns over its sizable immigrant population. Spokespersons for a more positive approach to foreign students were becoming more active, however. Although they continued to raise the traditional arguments of historic ties and moral obligations, the most effective argumentation for more liberalized approaches to foreign student enrollments was increasingly being based on pragmatic considerations. Rather than appealing to national humanitarian impulses, these new defenders of the foreign student faith, even when their own motives were idealistic, applied a utilitarian rationale. Thus,"alumni" in far places were good for foreign relations and very good for foreign trade. Foreign students contributed to a positive balance of trade by spending their money in the host country. And foreign graduate students made an economic contribution through the value of their research. Despite these emerging justifications, however, governmental attitudes toward foreign students remained ambivalent in 1983 and policies were essentially in flux.

One of the most striking changes in worldwide student mobility reflected by my recent trip, five years later, is that I felt compelled to visit Asia. Still in the early stages, the rapid emergence of Japan and Australia as significant destinations for students from Asia and Oceania can no longer be ignored. The growing role of both those countries as regional centers for higher education marks an important turn from purely Western dominance that parallels the economic shift to the Pacific Rim. Although Western Europe and the United States are still the principal choices for graduate study, their hegemony is being challenged by the growing numbers of Asian students who are beginning to discover and value the educational opportunities found in their own hemisphere. Australia and Japan, in quite different ways, have seized upon the opportunity to extend their influence and, in the case of Australia, to cash in on the profits to be derived from such students. With Japan pursuing the goal of 100,000 foreign students by the year 2000 and the Australian universities accelerating their foreign student quest, the contours of international enrollments are clearly changing.

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[1] Alice Chandler, *Foreign Students and Government Policy: Britain, France and Germany*, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1985.

In Western Europe, too, the past five years have seen significant changes. Partly in response to the growing commercial might of Asia, the European Community nations are aiming to become an economic unit by 1992, when tariff and other barriers will dissolve. This emergence of Europe as the world's largest trading center and the concomitant growth of Pan-European consciousness is also generating a new sense of educational unity. Future studies of foreign student policy in Western Europe will have to take note of a number of new educational exchange programs, including the newly developed ERASMUS program, whose goal is to have 10% of all EEC university and college students spend one year studying in another EEC country. Only a ripple at this point, the greater flow of European students within the European community will certainly warrant attention.

Another major change in European attitudes toward foreign students is the growing emphasis on the short-term economic benefits they confer as "tourists" bringing foreign currency into the country. British sources have estimated the income earned from foreign student expenditures in that country to be more than £1 billion a year—one sixth of total tourist expenditures and an important revenue source. Foreign student tuition, at least in Great Britain, where the financially battered universities can charge full costs to foreigners, is also a motivating factor. British universities have spread a far-flung recruiting net in all corners of the globe. Their ardent commercialism is more than matched by that of Australian campuses eager to garner their full-cost fees from foreign students, and the Canadian government, faced with falling foreign student numbers, is similarly said to be gearing up its recruitment efforts abroad. In a period of severe budget contractions, education is understandably being sold at a price. The "mark-up" need not be high—no more than the difference between marginal costs and full-cost fees. But, combined with special educational packages, often targeted at wealthier students or even executives, aggressive recruitment of foreign students has become big business, and one is now more likely to hear fears about falling rather than rising enrollments.

As important as the profit motive in many of the advanced technological countries is what might be termed the "brain game." A number of these countries, such as the United States, are having great difficulty in filling their graduate and research programs with "domestic" students. The preponderance of foreign rather than American graduate students in such fields as engineering and physics is well-known. But a review of graduate enrollments in almost all the countries covered in this study will show some impressive—and, some would say, frightening—figures. In Great Britain, for example, 52.4% of all graduate students in science and engineering are foreigners. Other countries included in this sample also show disproportionate enrollments of foreign compared to domestic students at the graduate level and heavy concentrations of foreign students in key scientific disciplines at major universities. Even Japan, with what is still a limited number of foreign graduate students, is apparently concerned about their concentration at a few major universities. These students are not simply "fillers." As in the United States, they are needed to sustain enrollments adequate to justify the existence of many graduate programs. Their research is also of value not simply within the university community but in the economy itself. Such nations as Britain, the United States, and Japan maintain their economic edge only by maintaining their technological edge, by being able to mount the new products and services that compensate for their high wage scales and enable them to dominate worldwide market segments. To do so, they need the best brains that they can find—from any country.

Unlike some other thorny aspects of the foreign student question, the increasing internationalization of graduate study is not likely to go away. Shortages of graduate students inevitably create shortages of both faculty and researchers. One intimation I sensed, in looking at countries like Great Britain, is that the need to "play the brain game"—i.e. to import the "best brains" as fuel for industrial growth—may well be overriding the moral obligation to return these graduates to their countries of origin. If the shortage of qualified nationals continues in some countries, the need to retain foreign graduate students as a permanent part of the work force will probably justify intensification of the "brain drain." Scientific and technical personnel are already the world's most fluid work force and the increased concentration of potential scientists and engineers in the most developed nations certainly will help create new "hot spots" of creativity. But the siphoning off of talent will have equally clear disadvantages: increased imbalance between the technological "haves" and the "have nots" and intensification of their economic inequality as well.

Is development assistance no longer important, then, and has foreign student policy become simply a component of trade policy? Have the historic ties that impel the major European receiving countries to assist their former colonies and to contribute toward Third World development evaporated under the pressure of more immediate economic considerations? Are today's foreign student policies based on sheer expediency? To argue so is to oversimplify reality. It is to ignore the idealism of the many governmental and academic leaders whose actions shape and direct foreign student policy and the many dedicated individuals who work directly with them. It is certainly to ignore the great outlay of funds that most of the major receiving countries contribute to the support of foreign students at home and abroad and to educationally oriented aid programs. In looking at the constraints and limits that most of the major receiving countries have placed on the admission and support of undergraduate (as opposed to graduate level foreign enrollments, which have usually not been capped) it is important to remember that national budgets are limited and that, in many cases, educational opportunities do not exist—or exist only at a price—for home students as well. Australia, for example, has maintained a relatively open policy for foreign students even though, annually, as many of 20,000 of its own students have been said to be unable to find higher educational places. A sense of obligation, a commitment to humanitarian ideals, a willingness to make economic sacrifices have obviously never been pure motives for any nation, and they certainly are not today. They are, as always, intertwined with political and practical motivations; but they do, as always, exist.

What *has* changed in recent years is the balance of motives. Humanitarianism and internationalism still exist as rationales for foreign student enrollments. But they have been overshadowed in both rhetoric and reality during the 1980s by the increased emphasis on pragmatics: by the monies to be derived from foreign student tuitions, by the purchases and expenditures made by foreign students as tourists, and by the less measurable but ultimately even more important contribution to be made by foreign graduates as future financial and diplomatic allies. Added to these justifications is the value of trained intelligence itself and the contribution that foreign students do and can make to technological and scientific research and development. Once viewed primarily as an obligation, the enrollment and, some might say, the exploitation of foreign students is now seen as an opportunity.

Like most distinctions between altruism and idealism, however, the line between the old motivations and the new is a blurry one. The Japanese government, for example, articulates and very generously supports a concept of internationalism based on idealistic principles. The Japanese educational system is charged with the responsibility for educating students with a greater "ability to regard themselves as relative beings" and for teaching "specifically how there are a great variety of different life styles, customs, and value systems in the world." But these injunctions toward greater tolerance are also in Japan's self-interest. By internalizing some of the freer attitudes of countries like the United States, Japan hopes to become a more creative and inventive society. Japan will certainly improve its already excellent trade relations with Asia by its increased receptivity to Asian students. The Canadians, too, write extensively and convincingly of the importance of overcoming isolation and parochialism. But the pragmatic, self-serving argument is seldom far away. Idealistic statements on the importance of fostering "cultural diversity and internationalism" are juxtaposed with exhortations that Canada seek a larger share of the multi-billion international education market. Recent British discourse on "cultural diplomacy" betrays a similarly mixed set of motives, moving fairly rapidly from a humanistic argument on behalf of shared cultural experiences to a more pragmatic discussion of the importance of impressing "the successor generation" of political and economic leaders with Britain's heritage. Germany, too, in some ways the most thoughtful of the Western democracies in regard to foreign student policy, is sensitive to the different cultural contexts from which such students come and to which they return. But it also sees the practical necessity for promoting "cultural transfer" as an adjunct to "technology transfer," recognizing that technological improvements cannot successfully be exported into an unreceptive environment.

Even the current attention to student welfare services for foreign students, however altruistic and idealistic its actual practitioners on the campus, is commingled with the new entrepreneurialism that has come into vogue. It is being increasingly realized that not all foreign students have happy experiences abroad. Indeed, many are profoundly isolated in their adopted environments and, whether they fail or succeed in their studies, often return home with negative views. Such hostility toward the very country that educated them hardly fits in with the argument that a foreign student is a foreign friend. If they are to be potential business and diplomatic allies, foreign students must come away from their educational experiences with positive attitudes and with the skills and expertise needed for success at home. It was encouraging to me on this recent trip to see the increased attention being paid to studying the foreign students themselves and to devising educational and welfare programs that would benefit them both during their stay abroad and after their return. But there is still much work to be done.

Perhaps the basic reason that idealistic and practical arguments on behalf of foreign students are so interconnected is that their linkage reflects reality. As one very knowledgeable British observer puts it:

> The relations between North and South are not primarily those of obligation or charity, but of mutuality of interest and of interdependence. Britain has her own interest in ensuring that development takes place in a peaceful and orderly manner. As a nation living by trade and the selling of services, and as the holder of considerable investment overseas, Britain...has a stake in political stability abroad and the fostering of international understanding.[2]

What is true for Britain is, of course, true for all nations. Beyond any single factor and beyond the concepts of either obligation or opportunity, it is the mutuality of need which guarantees the continued importance of foreign students and of constructive and realistic foreign student policies.

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[2] Peter Williams, *A Policy for Overseas Students: Analysis•Options•Proposals.* London: Overseas Students Trust, 1982, p. 6.

If these mutual interests are to be served, however, several disturbing tendencies that I observed, in 1988 even more than in 1983, will have to be addressed. One is the decrease in students from the poorest countries. Surveys of foreign students in most of the countries I visited show either a significant bulge toward wealthier students from wealthier countries or some bifurcation, with a sprinkling of students from what seem to be relatively poor backgrounds. The only exception to this rule is Australia, which appears to have become a relatively inexpensive destination for students from Southeast Asia wishing to avoid high travel costs. It is significant that Canada, with among the highest tuition costs of any of the major receiving countries, is the only nation to be losing large numbers of foreign students at this point. But as the costs of higher education become increasingly privatized, what is being seen all over the world (with the exception of tuitionless France, which continues to draw 83% of its students from Africa and the developing world) is a marked decrease in the numbers of students from the less- and least-developed countries. Although a few host nations, such as Great Britain and Australia, are expanding their scholarship schemes to encompass poorer students from poorer countries, such efforts have been thus far inadequate to stem the decline.

Foreign students from the developing countries of Africa and Asia and, to a lesser degree, from the Mediterranean region raise an even more difficult question which must also be addressed. That is the question of racism. Always to some degree the victims of racial hostility, students of color are being caught by the rising tide of ethnocentricity that has swelled up wherever indigenous all-white populations have become less homogeneous. Some experts would argue that the imposition of full-cost fees in Britain in 1979 was at least partly motivated by a desire to stem the tide of immigrant students. The nationalist strains in France and Germany and the racial exclusiveness of the Japanese all have a clear bearing on the reception of foreign students, as do the vestiges of "White Australia" attitudes. Even when foreign students are of a high social standing in their own countries, their frequently darker skins and their real or imagined cultural differences can arouse hostility once their numbers become visible. Again with the exception of Australia, where foreign students rate their reception as friendly, there is no major receiving country where significant numbers of foreign students do not complain of racism. This hostility to outsiders and particularly to people of color within the community is a significant, if often subterranean element, in foreign student policy and one that is not going away.

The interplay between racism and foreign student policy and the whole question of the interrelationships between foreign students and their host countries are but a few of the questions this study cannot fully explore. Another important element that this study cannot cover is the reaction of the major sending countries to the policies of the major receiving countries. These attitudes can at times be identified by indirection. The violent diplomatic reaction to Britain's initial imposition of full-cost fees in 1979 suggested how important a resource British higher education was for countries such as Hong Kong and Malaysia. But the need and desire to export students or to import educational aid varies from one country to another. For many developing countries, a foreign university is an urgently needed resource for providing needed technical training and transfer and for upgrading the future faculty of its own university system. One puzzling question, however, as one looks across the various enrollment charts, is the persistently high enrollment of foreign students from such relatively prosperous countries such as Hong Kong and Malaysia or Greece, Turkey, and Iran. Why so many of their students seek foreign educational experiences—for greater access (as in the case of the Malaysian Chinese), for greater quality, for greater economic opportunity, or for greater intellectual freedom—remains uncertain, as does the justification for continued inadequate educational opportunities within some of these countries. The political motivations for Hong Kong students have, of course, become very clear recently.

Who, indeed, are the foreign students and what are their motivations? Foreign student data are always presented in the aggregate: average age, average family income, major countries of origin, main parental educational and social backgrounds. But the aggregates mask great differences. There is little in common, in prior experience or motivation, between a student from Bangladesh seeking an education in Australia and an American Ivy League undergraduate enjoying a junior year abroad. Many foreign students we know to be quite prosperous. Others are financially pinched. Until one has disaggregated the data and begun to conduct in-depth interviews, the motivations and needs of foreign students will only be dimly seen and the resultant policies may, even with good intentions, widely miss the mark.

One thing we do know about foreign students is that their motivations are as pragmatic as those of the countries that send and receive them: they are seeking out the more practical subjects of study. Although the majority of American and EEC students usually study abroad primarily to learn a language or familiarize themselves with a foreign culture, the largest numbers of foreign students are enrolled in science and engineering and the various management sciences—subjects with clear job prospects, whether they return home or not.

Ultimately, one must also ask, who is the foreigner? As a wise observer I met pointed out,[3] there are often greater differences within a culture than among cultures. In an age of instantaneous media, exposure to a foreign country must burst on foreign students as far less of a surprise than it did twenty or forty years ago. Western clothing, Western music, Western values, Western technology are to some extent available almost everywhere around the globe. Even Japan and Australia have long since ceased to be unknown lands. With its shared bodies of knowledge and its common disciplinary orientations, higher education is, in some ways, the universal passport among nations. Its attitudes and assumptions create subclasses within countries. Although its failings are manifold, it nonetheless serves as a potent unifying force that stands in sharp contrast to the recrudescent nationalism and obscurantism that also mark our age.

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[3] I am indebted for this perception to Ulrich Littman, German Fulbright Commission.

Foreign students are in some ways pioneers of a new era. Many of them, as we have conjectured, are deliberately seeking asylum from narrow ideological regimes. Some will, for better or worse, remain as dual citizens within the country that educated them. Many will return home profoundly changed by their international experiences. Some will be relatively unchanged. But none will be wholly untouched by their experiences. To the extent that they have internalized the language and customs of another country, they will indeed be potential mediators between cultures, both in peacetime and during periods of stress. But many will also be international citizens because they have learned, not just a foreign language, but an intrinsically international discourse—the discourse and discipline of knowledge and reason. One might well argue that the international or transnational culture currently being created in our laboratories and business offices is shallow and lacks a historical base. That is undoubtedly true. But the new culture is grounded in the specialized knowledge and methodologies that are the province and output of higher education and that effectively permeate purely national boundaries. Foreign students and their host countries have shown themselves able and eager to share and advance the highly technical information that is the lifeblood of modern civilization and commerce. What is now needed is a more genuine academic and cultural base to higher education that will enrich the foreign student experience through the *mutual* exchange of ideas, perspectives, and values.

A Word About Method

Despite the many similarities in foreign student policy noted above, there are also significant variations from country to country in historical background, current issues, enrollment trends and data, and foreign student policies and practices. These differences take their shape from different historic and economic conditions in the major receiving countries, different geographic locations and demographic factors, and varying cultural and educational patterns. To allow room for this diversity without sacrificing the ability to make comparisons among nations, I have used the same organizational structure for each of the chapters: background, recent developments, enrollment data, policies and practices, costs and expenditures, issues and arguments, and conclusion. However, the proportioning of these elements differs from chapter to chapter, depending on the relative importance of these different areas and also the availability of information.

In reaching my conclusions, I have tried to balance actual governmental or institutional policies and practices with the larger context of ideas. At times, I may have given more weight to purely theoretical or philosophical documents than they deserve in relation to their eventual policy impact. But it has seemed important to me to give the context of ideas in which policies transpire.

Of all the data I have offered, I am least certain about the statistics purporting to summarize each nation's outlays on foreign students. The estimate of educational costs, as any one who has worked in higher education knows, is a tricky subject at best. It is doubly difficult when it involves the marginal costs that foreign students are said to represent and when much of the data is secondhand and perhaps politically motivated. Various nations also assign costs differently: to education departments, to external or foreign ministries, and to development agencies. I have deliberately avoided translating the foreign currencies into dollars in order to avoid simplistic comparisons among nations. However, it is clear that Germany and France *each* far exceed the *total combined expenditure* for foreign students of the other four major receiving countries. the comparative order of expenditure among the remaining host countries would appear to be: Britain, Japan, Canada, and Australia, with Great Britain significantly in the lead within that set of nations.

Three major factors determine the disparities in national expenditures for foreign students. the first, obviously, is the total number of foreign students. The second is the extent to which their educations are subsidized by the host countries—hence the very high costs for Germany and France, which provide an essentially free education to all students, including those from abroad. The third factor is the extent of scholarship programs for foreign students. Most calculations of foreign student expenditures, it should be noted, are based on formal university students. Short-courses and *sur place* training programs are not necessarily included in those details.

It hardly needs to be noted that the United States, with more than 350,000 foreign students, is not included in this study, although I have not hesitated to make comparisons with the United States, when the conclusions seemed self-evident. A separate and extensive study is clearly needed, placing this country in world context. Both the 1982 American Council on Education document, *Foreign Students and Institutional Policy*, and the 1983 Institute for International Education study, *Absence of Decision*, although excellent, are now quite dated. Their central premise—that the United States lacks a coherent and constructive policy toward foreign students — seems true as ever, but the facts and arguments sorely need an updating at the start of a new decade. If foreign students are a financial, technological, and cultural resource, the fragmentation of American policy—however numerous the foreign students on our individual campuses may be—is clearly an impediment to our international role. This study by no means idealizes policy making in the other major receiving nations, but it does show the increasing awareness of other countries of the importance of foreign students and their potential impact on the futures of receiving nations.

Acknowledgements

The acknowledgements section of this manuscript lists the names of more than a hundred individuals in the six countries I visited. This study could not have been written without their generous help. I have tried to list the names of all the people I met, all of whom gave freely of their time and expertise. If I have, as I fear, missed the names of a few individuals whom I met in group meetings, I apologize. Each bit of information I received formed part of the mosaic of information and opinion that has shaped this volume.

I must make special acknowledgement, however, to those individuals who also served as readers of this manuscript in draft form. These include Elinor Barber, Director of Research for the Institute of International Education, in New York, who has been a guiding spirit in the conceptualization and development of this book; Martin Kenyon of the Overseas Students Trust in Great Britain; Genevieve Ramos Acker, of the Commission Franco-Américaine, and M. Thierry Vielle of the Ministère de l'Éducation nationale in France; Dr. Karl Roeloffs, Generalsekretär des DAAD, in Germany; Professor Kazuyuki Kitamura and Dr. Joseph Eugene Hicks of the Research Institute for Higher Education of Hiroshima University in Japan; Professor Kenneth Back of the International Development Program of Australian Colleges and Universities and Mr. David Buckingham of the Department of Education, Employment, and Training; and Mr. James Fox of the Canadian Bureau for International Education. Having read only the penultimate version of this manuscript, they deserve credit for the correctness of fact and interpretation in this study; whatever remains erroneous or perverse can be blamed only on me.

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1. GREAT BRITAIN

I. Background

Current foreign student policy in Great Britain is just ten years old. Before 1979, all overseas students were part of a subsidized educational system that made only moderate financial distinction and virtually no policy distinction between overseas and domestic students. After 1979 only students from the European Economic Community were still treated like British students. All other overseas students were either charged six to fifteen times as much as home students or were subsidized through specific tuition and scholarship programs. With one bureaucratic stroke by the Department of Education and Science—made without consulting any other government agency—foreign students were monetarily and conceptually distinguished from domestic students. They had become customers rather than guests. A historic tradition of educational obligation based on the bonds of Empire and the links of Commonwealth had been transformed into an economic opportunity for buyers and sellers of educational services. Foreign student policy in Great Britain had entered the modern age.

When I visited Britain in 1983, the shockwaves of the full-cost decision were still being felt. The government of Malaysia had withdrawn its retaliatory "Buy British Last" policy, but diplomatic and trade relations still suffered as Commonwealth and other governments protested what they viewed as a financial and symbolic breach of faith. Foreign and Commonwealth Office spokespersons continued to nurse their outrage over the lack of consultation, while British Council officials worried about the nation's image abroad. Foreign student enrollments had plummeted even more drastically than feared, and the already beleaguered universities faced a resultant loss of more than £100 million a year in enrollment subsidies. After more than two decades of steadily rising overseas enrollments, most observers had little hope that the government could unsnarl the tangle and were pessimistic about the prospects for foreign students in Britain.

That Britain found a clear path out of what seemed insoluble difficulties in 1983 was due in large measure to the patient and skilled diplomacy of the Overseas Students Trust (OST), a small voluntary organization dedicated to promoting the education of overseas students in Britain. With the support of a governing committee comprised of representatives of many leading transnational committees, OST rapidly surveyed the policy alternatives and produced an extraordinarily influential report, *A Policy for Overseas Students: Analysis, Options, Proposals,* which outlined a new and moderate approach to the topic. The report took as its basic premise that a general low-tuition subsidy for foreign students was impossible, but that Britain's international self-interest, as well as her historic obligations, required a structured and targeted scholarship program for selected categories of students from abroad.

Based largely on specific OST recommendations, a compromise solution was reached in 1983 with the adoption of the so-called "Pym Package," named after the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Francis Pym, who proposed it. The Pym Package was based on the same assumption that had informed the OST report, namely that there would be no return to the previous policy of "indiscriminate and open-ended subsidy" for overseas students. In place of low-cost home fees for all overseas students, it substituted a series of scholarship and support schemes targeted at those countries and those students whose enrollment in British higher education reflected historic ties or current government priorities. Key features of the Pym Package included: (1) home fees for most undergraduate students from Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Cyprus; (2) expansion of existing Technical Cooperation schemes; and (3) a new scholarship program for the use of diplomatic missions abroad to promote British political interests. A small subsidy (£100,000 a year) was paid to the British Council for marketing and recruitment efforts overseas, and a total of £46 million over three years was allocated to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office for these efforts, out of the £450 million supposedly saved over that period through the elimination of subsidized tuition costs.

Several interesting concepts were implicit within the Pym proposals. Allocating the £46 million to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office rather than the Department of Education and Science made it clear that foreign students were perceived as a diplomatic rather than an educational priority. At the same time, the provision of scholarship and recruitment moneys also indicated the importance of targeting certain specific populations for British government support, while at the same time assisting British universities to attract full-fee paying foreign students, who now became a revenue source.

II. Recent Developments

Five years later foreign student policy continues to be a lively topic in Britain. Memories of the full-cost drama linger and, with those memories, concern over the price Britain may have paid in foreign policy and trade relationships. Although foreign student enrollments in the university sector have almost regained their peak 1978 levels, non-university enrollments continue to suffer, and the number of students from many developing countries is dramatically lower. Owing to the superiority of its university system, Britain remains a popular destination for foreign students, but British higher education has lost some of its prior standing in countries where it had been the first or only choice.

Despite these problems, the general mood in regard to foreign students in Great Britain is buoyant. The fear in 1983 that the decline in foreign student numbers was irreversible, or, as one observer put it, that "the glass would fall forever," has been replaced by confidence in Britain's continued ability to recruit high-caliber and well-paying students from abroad. Both the individual universities and the British Council are energetically recruiting students all over the globe.

The coordination and implementation of foreign student policy has come a long way in Great Britain since the debacle of 1979. A number of new award schemes have been added to the original Pym Package, considerably raising the level of resources devoted to overseas student scholarships and training programs. Recent initiatives include a Sino-British Friendship scheme and fellowships for students from South Africa as well as new scholarship programs under the auspices of ODA and of the Department of Trade and Industry.

The government has also acknowledged the importance of foreign student policy and the need to avoid another 1979 debacle by establishing an Interdepartmental Group of officials from relevant government departments which meets to coordinate policies and practices in regard to foreign students. A Round Table comprising these officials together with experts and practitioners from education and industry also meets sporadically to discuss current issues and directions.

Cheered by its past successes, the OST continues to be active. Its report, *The Next Steps: Overseas Student Policy for the 1990s*, maps out a number of possible new directions for foreign student policy based on its conviction of the "educational, social, human, and international" importance of foreign students.[4] Its new proposals include increased scholarship and recruitment expenditures by the government, greater adaptability to foreign student needs on the campuses, and the development of a coherent national policy for foreign students to replace the current mixture of goals and jurisdictions.

Even more important than government action have been the entrepreneurial efforts of the universities themselves. Encouraged by government decisions that increasingly allow them to "market" their educational services to foreign students at competitive tuition rates, the universities and, increasingly, the polytechnics have become aggressive marketers on the international scene. While their continued energies in recruiting foreign students have actually increased the numbers of post-graduate students beyond their 1979 levels and have helped give stability to British graduate programs, their educational goals have seemed subordinate to their financial needs. Their open commercialism is a manifestation of what we shall see elsewhere in this study: the shift from a "classical" internationalism, stressing ideals of mutual understanding, toward a frankly cash-benefit motive.

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[4] Overseas Student Trust, *The Next Steps: Overseas Student Policy into the 1990s*, (London: Overseas Student Trust, 1982), xii.

III. Enrollments and Enrollment Trends

The DES decision to impose full-cost fees in 1979 is usually interpreted as a purely fiscal determination. The higher education budget needed to be cut. Foreign students had no visible lobby or influence. Reducing the estimated £150 million annual subsidy to foreign students was a politically palatable solution to a politically difficult problem.

Some observers claim that the DES motivations were not so simple. Foreign student enrollments, like immigration numbers, had been rising too fast (although there was actually an unrecognized leveling-off process underway), and the high concentration of foreign students in certain localities had become a political liability. With foreign students already comprising 10% of the full-time university and advanced higher educational populations, limiting their flow by raising their tuition fees could thus serve a dual purpose—saving money and stanching the inflow of undesired ethnic groups.

Whatever the motivation, the policy worked. Britain saved money and lost foreign student enrollments. There were 88,037 foreign students enrolled in the university and public sector institutions in 1979 and only 64,400 in 1986. These highly dramatic figures must be carefully interpreted, however, since they reflect both increases and decreases in the university, advanced, and non-advanced further education sectors.

Enrollment by Country of Origin: Most telling as a result of the new full-cost policy are the shifts by country of origin, especially in regard to the less-developed nations. Even though the number of scholarships and trainees supported by long-term and short-term government scholarship programs rose from 9000 to 19,700 between 1979 and 1987, that increase has been too small to compensate for the over-all loss of students from the developing world. In 1986 the number of students from all developing countries was 34% lower than it had been in 1979. Although the decline in students from "The Poorest 50" was significantly mitigated by the government's scholarship schemes, the general trend for students from Commonwealth and developing countries was downward. Enrollments from European countries, on the other hand, grew by nearly 50% during the same period (from 6,975 in 1979 to 9,800 in 1986). In 1986, as in 1978, none of Britain's top five sending nations was in the least-developed category:

1978	1986
1. Malaysia	1. Hong Kong
2. United States	2. United States
3. Iran	3. Malaysia
4. Hong Kong	4. Greece
5. Greece	5. Singapore

In shifting toward foreign students from the more prosperous countries, Britain is typical of a troubling worldwide trend away from providing educational opportunities for those who can afford it least. The continued economic declines of the developing world, combined with higher educational costs in the advanced industrialized countries, are inhibiting the flow of foreign students on a global scale from the less and least-developed countries and encouraging flows from and among the more affluent nations.

Distribution by Level and Sector: One of the most visible impacts of the full-cost policy has been a dramatic shift toward post-graduate studies (*graduate work* in American usage). Non-advanced further education, which is analogous to college preparatory and continuing education programs in the United States (although it also includes some specific professional programs such as nursing), suffered a drastic and continuing decline in numbers after 1979 and has now shrunk to less than one-third of its former size. Education at the polytechnics has endured a reduction of approximately one-third from pre-1980 levels, although those numbers have started to rise again and will probably rise more in the future. Undergraduate university enrollments have now turned around after declining quite markedly, although they have not yet returned to pre-1980 levels. But post-graduate enrollments have continued to gain ground since a 1982 low-point and by 1986 were already some 16% ahead of pre-1980 levels.

The collapse in the number of non-advanced students in Great Britain should probably be viewed with some skepticism since it became difficult to count such students accurately once they were no longer receiving government subsidies. However, it is also likely that the sharply increased cost of such programs in Britain has made them either cost-ineffective or inaccessible to foreign students. Those students are presumably either seeking their training elsewhere than in Great Britain or making use of expanding indigenous educational systems at home.

Decline in polytechnic figures may similarly be related to the growth of indigenous educational systems. But the major reason for the decline until recently was the absence of a supply-side incentive for polytechnic institutions. Not permitted to retain the income they collected from recruiting foreign students, the polytechnics tended to ignore them as a market. With recent changes in governance and financing, many polytechnics are now vigorously recruiting overseas students, whose fees can be used to offset the impact of government budget reductions.

The turnaround in undergraduate enrollment levels and the increase at the graduate level is due in large measure to the perceived high quality of the British educational system, which apparently is seen to give value for money even though the cost is high. According to a study conducted for the Overseas Students Trust by the University of London Institute of International Education in 1985,[5] 41% of overseas students studying in the UK said that their primary motive was the high quality of British education. Although such perceptions are difficult to validate, some plausible reasons come to mind: the selectivity of British admissions policy, the comparatively high unit expenditures per student, the extensive "pastoral" or counseling programs (by comparison with many Continental systems), and Britain's status as a technologically advanced country. Combined with the attractiveness of English as a world language, these known strengths of higher education in Britain have helped draw sizable numbers of talented postgrads to the British university system.

Distribution by Discipline: Technology and finance, as this study will repeatedly show, are magnets for foreign students, who seek out the best programs they can afford in these fields. British higher education is clearly perceived to be strong in the science and engineering programs and also in business and management studies. In 1986, 40% of all overseas students in Great Britain were enrolled in science and engineering and another 25% in administration and business programs.

As in the United States and surprisingly Japan, the desire of foreign students for graduate study is neatly symbiotic with the need of the universities for graduate students. DES statistics for 1986 show that 36.6% of all students engaged in Ph.D. and other research courses were from overseas. In business and management the proportion was 65.6% and in engineering and technology 52.4%.

Britain has thus far done no more to grapple with the causes or long-term implications of these statistics than has the United States. It does not have a clearly articulated policy for attracting more of its own students to science and engineering curricula, and it has not thought out the balance between educating foreign students as a part of its development assistance programs and using foreign graduates, even after they have completed their educations, as part of its own research and development establishment. Afflicted by its own *brain drain* of faculty as its university budgets worsen, Britain now seems less sensitive than it has been to issues of *brain drain* from developing countries. Indeed, it seems, like other nations, to be increasingly veering toward the idea of importing the "best and brightest brains" as an energy source for its knowledge industries.

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[5] Gareth Williams, Maureen Woodhall, Una O'Brien, *Overseas Students and Their Place of Study: Report of a Survey* (London: Overseas Students Trust, 1986), *passim.*

Socio-Economic Background and Personal Characteristics: The backgrounds of overseas students and their personal characteristics were surveyed by the OST in 1981. Information at that time showed that the fathers of foreign students were most frequently self-employed businessmen, government employees, or civil servants and that their mothers were most frequently housewives. About one-third of the fathers and 15% of the mothers were college-educated. About one-third of the students earned money while in Britain to help finance their stays.[6] Slightly under one-third [30.4.%] of all overseas students in Great Britain today are female. Only 6% of women interviewed in 1985 held British government-sponsored awards as compared with 13% held by men.

The rising numbers of women students are encouraging and part of what seems to be a worldwide trend. The data on family background are ambiguous and cannot be interpreted unless correlated with the country of origin; but the relatively high percentage of college graduates among the students' parents, especially when the students come from the developing world, would certainly suggest affluent backgrounds for many of them.

Student Experiences: Much as they admired the quality of British higher education, more than half of the overseas students in Great Britain, according to a 1985 OST survey, complained that they had suffered from loneliness or homesickness during their stay abroad and a quarter reported experiences of discrimination or ill treatment because of their race or nationality. These findings confirm the results of an earlier, more extensive OST study. They parallel student reactions in most other countries we shall study.

IV. Policies and Practices

Within the broad framework established by the government, the administration of foreign student policy in Great Britain rests with the higher educational institutions themselves and with the British Council as the "marketing arm" of British higher education and culture abroad.

Recruitment: As foreign students have become more lucrative to the universities and more important to their graduate programs, they have been more actively recruited. The growing entrepreneurialism of the individual universities in recent years has been paralleled by the energetic recruitment activities of academic departments and faculty members. Such entrepreneurialism is in keeping with the Thatcher government's free enterprise policies and its implicit belief in the "invisible hand" of market forces. Even those academics opposed to Thatcherism in general are often appreciative of the renewed vigor such laissez-faire policies have brought.

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[6] Peter Williams, ed., *The Overseas Student Question: Studies for a Policy*, (London: Heinemann, 1981), pp 246-260.

The concrete incentive guiding the universities is clearly their ability to retain the high tuitions required of foreign students. Individual departments and faculty members are stimulated both by the financial advantages that they acquire and by their desire to attract good students, from whatever source. In many cases , as we have seen, the shortage of British students willing to go on to postgraduate studies makes overseas recruitment a necessity.

Many universities subscribe to the British Council's Educational Counseling Service (ECS). With units in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Korea, and Japan, ECS is responsible for promoting Britain's universities and polytechnics in these countries and for assisting in counselling and handling the admissions procedures for potential enrollees. Its budget of £563,000 for 1987-88 is paid for by the subscribing campuses, which also benefit from British Council visits and exhibitions overseas. Separately funded programs of the British Council also provide English language instruction, testing, and placement for overseas students. Given the popularity of English as a language, it is not surprising that more than 50,000 people are learning English in British Council institutes overseas at any one time.

Admissions: There is no centralized admissions process in Great Britain. All students are admitted directly by their institutions, which also establish the levels of language proficiency required for entrance into specific programs. Because of this latitude, some concern is being expressed that the "lesser" institutions are not maintaining adequate selectivity in their admissions procedures for foreign students, although there is also contrary concern that some universities are maintaining too rigid requirements. The one-third decline in the number of British 18-and-19-year-olds by 1996 could, indeed, press many institutions to relax their standards inappropriately, even though an increased participation rate in higher education by British home students has been proposed by DES for the 1990s.

Britain and the EEC: Under EEC agreements, students from the European community pay only home fees and must compete for admission to British institutions within the quotas allotted for all. The proportion of EEC students in British universities has been rising since 1980 and will unquestionably increase still further with the expansion of the European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) program in coming years. Under ERASMUS a goal has been set to have 10% of all EEC university and college students spend at least a year studying in other EEC countries. The impact of such Pan-European admissions has yet to be felt, but together with other changes proposed for 1992 it could significantly change the face of education in Western Europe.

Student Welfare Services: If the enrollment of overseas students is to be justified these days largely by their eventual cost-benefits in trade and diplomatic relationships, the attitude of overseas students toward their receiving countries becomes increasingly important.

> It is really dazzlingly obvious. If you are thoroughly familiar with someone else's language and literature, if you know and love the country, the arts, the people, you will be instinctively disposed to buy goods from them rather than from a less well-known source, to support them actively when you consider them to be right, and to avoid criticizing them too fiercely when you regard them as wrong.[7]

Because positive "alumni" attitudes are seen, rightly or wrongly, as important to future trade and foreign policy goals, the British Council has undertaken a modest series of steps designed to increase the probability of successful student stays in Great Britain. New briefing material has been provided for students wishing to enroll in British institutions, better arrival facilities are being developed, and schemes are being promoted to arrange for hospitality with local families and to promote contacts with British industry. One new venture, the result of combined efforts by the British Council, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the Victoria League, is the HOST program, which brings overseas students into British homes at Christmas-time for "carols, Christmas dinner, Santa Claus, bonfires, holly, and the Christmas tree."

The leading organization in the overseas student field is United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs (UKCOSA). Established in 1968, UKCOSA's membership is comprised of private and public academic institutions and professional, academic, student, and voluntary organizations. It has long been an advocate for better student support services and through its publications and training programs has helped significantly in improving the "pastoral care," as the British call it, of students from overseas. Its current efforts are being increasingly directed toward policy issues. A recent publication, *Responsible Recruitment: A Model for a Code of Practice for Institutions Involved in the Education of Overseas Students,* resembles the NAFSA Wingspread Code in outlining standards of institutional good practice in regard to the recruitment, admissions, and welfare of foreign students. Although there has been considerable interest in the proposed code, UKCOSA charges that few British institutions have as yet added overseas student support personnel to their staffs.

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[7] Sir Anthony Parsons, "*'Vultures and Philistines'—British Attitudes to Culture and Cultural Diplomacy,*" British Council 50th Anniversary Lecture, 24 September, 1984.

V. Costs and Expenditures

With the imposition of full-cost fees in 1980, Britain freed itself from the subsidized costs of tuition, then estimated at £150 million a year. The Pym Package of £46 million for targeted student support schemes, to be spent over a three-year period, has expanded since 1983 to a considerably higher level of expenditure. British government-funded award schemes totalled approximately £96 million in 1987-88. These figures do not include direct development aid, now calculated at more than £1 billion a year.

In not subsidizing the direct educational costs of foreign students, Britain resembles Australia and parts of Canada rather than France, Germany, or Japan. One reason for this difference in policy is the relatively high per student expenditure of British higher education compared to the more flexible costs of German and French educational methods, which make expansion far less costly in those countries. These issues will be discussed in subsequent chapters. It is certainly clear that the philosophy of the Thatcher government, which states that the user or beneficiary must pay for services rendered, has been explicitly applied to the foreign student and to international education as a whole.

VI. Issues and Arguments

Britain in recent years has discussed foreign student policy almost exclusively in pragmatic terms. Arguments based on moral obligations to developing nations or increased cultural understanding, while receiving token acknowledgement, are usually followed in rapid order by appeals to British self-interest—to the diplomatic and commercial advantages to be gained from well-placed and influential returning foreign students, who will favor British interests and buy British goods. These utilitarian arguments are pursued even by those who are convinced of the educational and human values of student flows. Unquantifiable benefits and historic ties or loyalties are hard to sell at a time when Britain's finances are austere and the universities under the harshest budgetary pressures. Foreign students have been at least in part transmuted from an obligation to an opportunity. Their long-term benefits continue to be extensively discussed under the headings of trade, aid, and diplomacy, with the general conclusion—albeit little concrete proof—that foreign graduates are foreign friends.

In recent years, however, the cost-benefit argument has also included a short-term component. Analyses have shown that foreign students visiting Britain for educational purposes contribute approximately £1 billion to the country's foreign exchange earnings through the fees they pay and through their own and their families' expenditures for food, housing, clothing, and incidentals. Viewed in that light they are a significant component of Britain's £6 billion tourist industry.

Foreign students have certainly become an urgent element in university budgeting. In the five years between 1979 and 1985 the foreign student contribution to the universities' recurrent income went from 2.6% to 5.5% and must by now be well above that figure. The profit comes, of course, from the difference between the full-cost fees that foreign students pay and the marginal costs they represent. The DES has recently given the universities greater flexibility in setting fees for foreign students in order to increase their competitiveness in world markets.

Another argument increasing in strength recently is the contribution that foreign students can and do make to British research and development industries. As previously noted, Britain cannot fill her graduate programs in science and engineering with domestic students. Foreign students thus plug an enrollment gap contributing to the viability of otherwise underenrolled programs. They also are recognized as making a quantifiable—although as yet unquantified—contribution to Britain's present and future economy through their research activities.

The importance of their research—and the general importance to Great Britain of attracting the best and brightest graduate students—is to be seen in the doubling between 1980 and 1986 of the number of new awards under the Overseas Research Students Awards Program (ORSAS). Designed to provide for the "partial remission of tuition fees to overseas postgraduate students of outstanding merit and research potential, in recognition of their institutional and scholarly contribution to academic work in the United Kingdom," the award covers the differential between "home cost" and "full-cost" fees for a particular course of study. ORSAS award holders constitute approximately 20% of the postgraduate research students in British universities. They are recognized as making "a valuable contribution, not only to the academic work of the universities and to our university community generally, but also to the economic, scientific, educational and other aspects of the life of their own country." Interestingly, 43% of ORSAS students come from the three lowest economic status categories of countries.[8] The fact that so large a percentage of the ablest students comes from underdeveloped countries is a potent reminder of the pool of intellectual talent such countries represent and of the barriers to access posed by the full-cost policy.

VII. Conclusion

In the early 1980s, the discussion of foreign student policy was dominated by several narrow and interrelated themes: the DES issue, the economic issue, and the enrollment issue. With the DES debacle now pretty much in the past, with the universities now embracing full-cost fees as part of their economic salvation, and with enrollments rising in the graduate sector, the debate is now turning to more complicated issues: the role of foreign students in economic development and the broader question of cultural diplomacy.

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[8] The Overseas Research Students Awards Scheme, Annual Report, 1986.

Economic Development: Only now surfacing as an issue in Britain is a question that will undoubtedly become more significant as the importance of human resources—highly trained scientific and technical intellects—continues to affect worldwide economic growth. Developing nations require technical and managerial personnel to supervise evolving economic, educational and administrative structures and to contribute to the formation of their own indigenous technology and industry. Much of the training of this personnel must, by virtue of its sophistication, take place in the more advanced industrialized nations. It is obviously critical to the emerging nations that their ablest students have these opportunities, and they are dependent on high-powered educational systems to provide them. But the advanced industrialized nations also have human resource needs that may have to be met by students from abroad. These highly developed countries increasingly require huge cohorts of trained professionals and semi-professionals to carry out the complex requirements of a highly interdependent society. They also require ever-escalating numbers of highly trained, highly specialized researchers and technologists, who can create the new products and services on which their economic prosperity largely depends.

The British government has officially recognized the nation's requirements for "highly qualified manpower" through its long-term planning for the increased participation rates in higher education. But the high proportions of foreign students in its graduate and research programs prove that Britain needs to supplement its domestic student body. Its return in the past few years to a more positive approach to foreign students policy is an implicit recognition that Britain cannot go it alone—that the needs of its laboratories, and perhaps of its industries, require an influx of the best and brightest brains from many countries of origin. Britain has indicated the importance of such students to its universities and laboratories by the increase in its ORSAS awards, many of which, as we have seen, go to students from the developing countries. It has not yet stated a policy, aside from its regular immigration regulations, in regard to the eventual return of these students to their home countries. And, indeed, given Britain's apparent need for such students, a need we shall also see in several other major receiving countries, one wonders whether some stays in Great Britain—and other advanced industrialized nations—may not be extended indefinitely.

Cultural Diplomacy: In a world where "influence" and "prestige" are important sources of political and commercial power, some British leaders are concerned that their country is losing its cultural potency around the world. In his fiftieth anniversary British Council lecture, Sir Anthony Parsons offers a cheerful perspective on Britain's international past. "Few countries in the world," he states, "have not had to deal at close quarters with Britain and the British for a long time. This has created an ease of communication and a mutual understanding which would not exist in other circumstances." This mutual understanding, he fears, is no longer being adequately cultivated. With limited political and financial support for Britain's cultural efforts, other nations may be outpacing her, to the detriment of what he sees as one of the great sources of British influence all over the globe—a familiarity with her civilization and her way of life.

Cultural diplomacy, which some see as a euphemism for cultural and economic hegemony, is also linked to the foreign student issue. Foreign student policy is taking on more urgency, according to some commentators, as the political leadership in many countries passes to a successor generation that has not been educated in Britain. "In some parts of the world," writes Sir John Burgh in another British Council document, "whole generations of national leaders were educated by us and made familiar with the British experience...sometimes in schools, sometimes in universities, sometimes in prisons." But the tide of history is now running against Britain:

> The last generation to receive this orientation is reaching retirement. It is being replaced by people with different educational allegiances. The knowledge and memory of Britain and its cultural assets is growing dim. We must ensure, by active and confident promotion, that the influence and reputation which Britain has inherited from the past is not dissipated.[9]

An extensive report on Cultural Diplomacy issued by the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee in 1987 carefully examines the strengths and weaknesses of British promotional activities abroad, again taking into account the role of foreign students in fostering British interests. On the positive side, the report states that:

> Britain enjoys far greater influence in the world than any cold assessment of its economic and defence strength might suggest. Britain has a great deal to offer the world. It is right that we should share a culture which enriches the human spirit, enhances international understanding and expands the horizons of men and women throughout the world.[10]

But the report also bleakly notes that Britain spends far less on cultural diplomacy than either France or Germany, to which it looks as models. Germany, the report claims, spends considerably more than twice the British amount on cultural diplomacy and France more than three times as much. Looking specifically at foreign student numbers and expenditures, the report claims that France spends £293 million a year on these students and Germany £163 on foreign students and trainees in comparison to a total British expenditure of only £96 million.[11]

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[9] Sir John Burgh, *Cultural relations, the British Council and the national interest*, Chatham House Lecture, 24 June, 1987, p.3.

[10] *Cultural Diplomacy: Observations by the Government*, Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, p.1.

This belief that Britain does have a distinctive civilization to offer may gradually change the arguments in regard to foreign student policy. The cultural argument is in some ways simply a variant of the economic argument: appreciation for British culture leads to an appreciation for British manufactured goods. But a concern for culture in its broader aspects could, in theory at least, lead to a deeper consideration of the cultural and educational rationale for foreign student policy: the important role that foreign students play in transmitting British culture and, one would like to add, in transmuting and enriching it as well. Britain and the British higher educational system have much to offer foreign students, who continue to be drawn to her advanced-level work. But Britain, like all other major receiving countries, also has much to receive from the diversification that foreign students can offer to her educational institutions and to her culture more generally. Britain, as we have seen, is fully cognizant of the benefits such students contribute to her scientific and research establishment. But in Britain—as in most of the major receiving countries—the foreign student issue continues to exist as what has been called a "semi-detached question," much commented upon pragmatically, but lacking a broader philosophical base.

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[11] Actually, German and French analyses suggest higher expenditures still for those countries.

2. FRANCE

I. Background

Foreign student policy is seldom found fully articulated in official declarations. It is often better discerned in the fine print of government documents and regulations. It may zigzag. It often appears to be deliberately ambiguous. It is never a complete accident. Rooted in historical international relationships, national behavior toward foreign students is shaped and reshaped by current circumstances: by diplomatic and strategic priorities, by foreign trade requirements, by current economic conditions, by immigration levels, and by the nature of the country's educational system. To some degree, it reflects a nation's philosophical biases and the consistent or contradictory themes contained in its culture.

Foreign student policy in Britain originates in the ties of Empire and Commonwealth, much modified in recent years by the exigencies of budget and the need for technological strength. Foreign student policy in France begins with the history of her colonial relationships, particularly her strong ties with Africa. It is very much conditioned by the relatively open access traditions of the French university system. and by an instructional method that at the earlier levels does not rely on individual relationships between student and tutor, thus allowing for low-cost expansion. French foreign student policy must be understood in the context of France's perception of herself as a great civilizing force. The long-standing traditions of French cosmopolitanism—her historic m*ission civilisatrice*—remain potent forces today. Her more recent history of student disruptions and rioting and the continuing volatility of French student politics affect all aspects of French higher education. The shadow of 1968 lies across all French efforts at educational reform, making change hazardous and making it difficult for France to be totally candid about her rationales for policy.

France has today the highest percentage and second-highest number of foreign students in the world. With 124,000 foreign students enrolled in French higher educational institutions as of 1987-88, France is second only to the United States in its number of foreign students. With foreign students comprising 12.5% of its total student enrollment, it far outranks Britain, Germany, Australia and

Canada, with approximately 5% each, and is completely off the scale by comparison with the United States' 2.5% and Japan's current 1%.

France is unique in being the only major receiving country to have experienced, until very recently, continued growth in its number of African students rather than a decline. Although there was a slight fall-off in the number of students from Africa and other developing countries in 1986-87, well over half of its foreign students come from Africa, and more than half of those students come from the nations of the Maghreb. All foreign student enrollments are heavily concentrated in Paris and its environs. Foreign student growth over the past twenty years has been double the growth rate of domestic students.

Much of the current history of foreign student policy in France lies in these numbers: the high over-all percentage of foreign students, the disparate growth rates for foreign and domestic enrollments, the preponderance of African students, and the highly visible concentration of foreign students in the nation's capital. French foreign student policy in the past decade has both addressed and ignored some of these developments. To the extent that the premises of those policies have been openly discussed in recent years, they have usually been couched as questions of quality: the preparation of foreign students, their possibilities for success in the French educational system, the quality of support services and accommodation available to them. Foreign student policies have also invoked the traditionally French concept of equality: foreign students and domestic students must both be treated equally—in admissions, in preparation, in requirements for the degree. Hidden below the surface, however, are unspoken issues of educational quality in general and, as in most other countries with sizable foreign student populations, of ethnic and racial relationships.

II. Recent Developments

The pattern of French foreign student policy since 1979 has in many ways paralleled the British experience of restriction followed by relaxation. Unlike Great Britain, however, France cannot use price as a regulatory mechanism. French higher education is essentially free for all students and the slightest attempt to tamper with that tradition would have seismic impact. Admissions criteria have therefore become the mechanism in regulating the inflow of foreign students.

Two major laws embody the recent history of French foreign student policy. The first, the law of December 31, 1979 (the so-called "Imbert Decree") attempted to centralize and control the admission of foreign students by creating a National Selection Commission, whose function was to review foreign students' preinscription documents and rule on their general admissibility to higher education in France. Although the universities retained the final say in admissions, students were required to take a general examination in the French language and to prove that they could have qualified for admission to a higher educational institution in their home country.

The Imbert regulations had only a short life, however. Student protests and foreign government complaints led the new Mitterand government to revoke the most objectionable conditions of the decree: the National Commission and the standardized language test. The new law of December 31, 1981, sloughed off direct government involvement by decentralizing the admissions process and placing the responsibility on the universities themselves. It also adopted a series of principles that allowed foreign student policy to be discussed within a politically neutral educational framework.

The three basic premises of French foreign student policy since 1981 have thus been: equality, welcome, and autonomy. As reflected in the amended education law of 1981, they may be summarized as follows:

> *Equality:* All students, foreign and domestic have equal rights. These include the same requirements in attainments for admission, the same necessity for dispersal among the universities, even the same delays in the enrollment process. All higher educational programs in France must reflect equal levels of achievement. No "bargain diplomas" (*diplômes au rabais*).
>
> There must also be equality among foreign students themselves. In order to insure that all students undergo the same admissions procedures, all preliminary formalities must be fulfilled in the country of origin, thus eliminating both the competitive edge of foreign students temporarily domiciled in France and also the problem of unnecessary costly travel.
>
> *Welcome:* A true policy of welcome has two imperatives: (1) that the students' mastery of the French language and overall academic preparation be responsibly evaluated in order to assure a likelihood of success equal to that of their French student "comrades"; (2) that they be guaranteed a suitable personal and academic reception through the "harmonious distribution" of students among French universities.
>
> *Autonomy:* That the pedagogic autonomy of the universities shall be reinforced by granting them total responsibility in decisions regarding enrollment.

Behind these specific principles and their applications lies the desire, it is claimed, to enrich and diversify French culture through the presence of foreign students. A Ministry of Education statement in 1985 summarizes the intentions behind these amendments to the education law as follows:

> In 1981 a policy emerged from the objective of enriching French culture with what the immigration civilizations could contribute. University [sic] should not be a mould of settled views but a place where ideas are confronted and cultures of origin do not merge, but provide a fresh broadening of outlook for all. The presence of foreigners, a mixture of nationalities, a fair distribution throughout the country... [are] sources of enrichment in the short and long term"[12]

III. Enrollments and Enrollment Trends

In 1964-65, there were 27,000 foreign students enrolled in the French university system. Twenty years later, in 1987-88, that number had almost quintupled to 124,000 (off from a peak of 132,000 two years before). Even these high numbers, the Ministry of Education believes, may understate the actual numbers because of the unrecorded presence of illegal immigrants in the university system. In considering these numbers, however, it should be noted that not all "foreign students" in France are foreign-born nor are they all temporary residents. Between 20-25% of "foreign students" in France are the children of long-term immigrants residing in France or the children of parents born in former French colonies. While in appearance and cultural background they are likely to be noticeably non-French, their language and educational experience are likely to be French rather than foreign. Their "foreignness" may thus be more legal than cultural; their role more like that of some minority populations in the United States than that of true foreign students, who are transients within the system.

Even discounting the component of native-born "foreigners," the growth of foreign student numbers has been dramatic, especially when plotted against the growth of domestic students. Domestic student enrollments also soared during a twenty-year period from 1964-1984, but the growth rate for French home students was little more than half that of the total foreign student increase. It was this disparate growth, as much as the actual numbers themselves that some authorities believe led to the Imbert Decree and its successor legislation.

An even more impressive statistic is to be found in the increase of African student numbers. Their numbers multiplied approximately sevenfold during that same period, so that by 1984 they were almost approaching 60% of all foreign students in France. The high proportion of African students and their impact on the French educational system is the subject of considerable private discussion within the French government, although no policies or public statements are directly related to their presence.

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[12] *International Seminar on Higher Education and the Flow of Foreign Students:* France, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Zoetermeer, The Netherlands, November 13, 1985, p. 1.

Enrollment by Country of Origin: Looked at in more detail, the breakdown of the total number of foreign students by continent and country for 1986-87 in France was as follows:

57% from Africa (72,270)
  —34% from the Maghreb (43,000 est.)
  —18% from Morocco (23,718)
17% from Europe (21,787)
17% from Asia (21,497)
8% from the Americas (10,018)
2% other (2,040)

The increasing proportion of students from Africa up to 1986-87 has been paralleled by a decreasing proportion of students from Europe, Asia, and the Americas—all down by about a third from their 1965 representation among the French foreign student population. Other than African countries significant countries of origin are Iran, Lebanon, and Greece.

In all, 106,000 or 83% of France's foreign students come from developing countries—a uniquely high level at this time and, until very recently, a countercyclically rising number during a period when enrollment by foreign students from such countries is falling almost everyplace else. This unusual trend bears witness to France's traditional African ties and also perhaps to France's past history as a hospitable atmosphere for diverse racial groups. But the low-cost of higher education in France and the relatively generous admissions policy of many French universities must also be contributory.

Enrollment by Level or Cycle: In accordance with government policies, which simplify entrance into the second and third cycles, foreign student enrollments would appear to be falling off in the first cycle, holding steady in the second cycle, and rising in the third cycle. A comparison of French and foreign patterns of enrollment for 1986-87 show:

	Foreign	French
1st cycle	38%	49%
2nd cycle	29%	36%
3rd cycle	33%	14%

These figures probably reflect a drop-off between the first and second cycles of both French and foreign students unable or unwilling to continue their academic work. On the other hand, the sharp differential between foreign and French participation at the third level shows both the relatively low interest of French students in graduate work and the comparative attractiveness of advanced research and study to foreign students. The tendency toward third cycle enrollments by foreign students appears to be rising.

Enrollment by Disciplines: In 1987-88, preferred fields of study for foreign students in France ranked as follows:

Literary studies	36%
Scientific studies	23%
Medical studies	12%
Economics	11%
Law	10%

Only 2533, or less than 2%, of all foreign students in France were studying engineering in 1985-86 and some of them were enrolled in private schools rather than national institutions. The relatively high enrollments in literary rather than scientific and technical studies may be attributed to a variety of causes: student preferences, the strength of French cultural studies, the perceived comparative weakness of scientific education in France, and the highly competitive nature of entry into the engineering programs of the *grandes écoles*, which demand both a preparatory year and a stringent examination for admission. France also may have less reason actively to recruit engineering students abroad. Whereas Britain fills places in its engineering schools with a high percentage of foreign students, there is said, although not without some disagreement, to be no such problem in France, since the engineering schools have far more French applicants than they can accept.

Socio-Economic and Personal Characteristics: The Ministry of Education in France has collected considerable data on the personal background of foreign students in France.

(1) Socio-occupational background: It would appear that slightly more than half of the foreign students in France come from middle class origins; their parents are civil servants or business people, who have the advantage of a certain degree of affluence. The backgrounds of the remainder are somewhat difficult to generalize, but it would appear that fewer foreign students than French students are from either wealthy backgrounds or have parents engaged in manual or skilled labor. More foreign students than French report that they are from farming backgrounds or that their parents have no occupation. In view of the poor schooling usually available in the rural areas of non-industrialized nations, it is surprising that a significant number of French foreign students come

from such areas. But it is not possible to determine whether their presence reflects the effectiveness of some rural schools and scholarship programs or simply the high percentage of enrollments from non-industrial countries. Such students are presumably from relatively comfortable family backgrounds.

(2) Age: Foreign students are generally older than French students. Indeed, the proportions of students younger and older than 26 are neatly transposed:

Age	French	Foreign
Above 26	26%	60%
Below 26	60%	25%

(3) Gender: One in three foreign students in France is female as opposed to one in two French students. These figures vary from a high of 79% male for Moroccan students to a low of 47% male for students coming from Greece.

Geographical Distribution within France: The policy of dispersing foreign students outside the capital appears to be having its effect, as shown by the declining but still very high proportion of foreign students enrolled in the 13 Paris universities. More than 50% of all foreign students were enrolled in these thirteen institutions in 1980, by contrast with only 40% by 1984.

IV. Policies and Practices

It is important to understand that, in the absence of tuition, the inscription and review process is the government's only means of control over student numbers or flows. France does an excellent job in preparing students to understand the complex nature of its different higher educational institutions and the steps that students must take to enroll in them. Ministry of Education recruitment literature and an enhanced support system for foreign students testify to the government's desire to avoid failure—both for the students and for itself in handling them.

Applications and Admissions: The special procedures required of foreign students for admission apply only to the first year of the first cycle and reflect the government's desire to weed out at the beginning significantly underprepared students and—as in the other European countries under review—to attempt to shift foreign student enrollment from undergraduate to graduate levels. The application procedure for all advanced work—second year first cycle, second and third cycles—is identical to that followed by French students. Some observers believe that current French application procedures may actually be a covert mechanism to shift enrollment away from countries with inadequate internal controls at the secondary level. Whether there is or should be such a policy and how well it works is at the core of the unspoken debate in France.

Procedures for inscription in the first cycle (more or less equivalent to American undergraduate study) require that:

> (1) Students demonstrate, while still in their home countries, that their level of attainment would be adequate for admission to higher education in that country.
>
> (2) Students, again in their home countries, demonstrate proficiency in the French language by passing a language examination specific to their discipline. Students from countries in which French is the official language or meeting highly specific conditions are exempted from the French language test. (This provision is said by some to be a source of inadequately prepared students.)
>
> (3) As part of the application process, students indicate a choice of two universities in order of preference.

Students are reminded over and over again that Paris is crowded, that accommodations and support services there are limited, and that the French diploma is a national credential and of equal worth at whichever French university it is obtained. All correspondence, after the preliminary steps in the student's home country, is between the student and the university. In the event that the student is not admitted to his or her first-choice institution, the dossier is automatically passed on to the second-choice institution. A fail-safe provision allows for review by the Ministry of Education of students with double refusals. Only in that instance does the government involve itself in the admissions process.

Foreign Student Support Services: Although a 1980 study claims that foreign students actually outperform French students in the second and third cycles, owing, it is thought, to superior motivation and selectivity, the failure rate for the first cycle foreign enrollees has historically been high. When I conducted my previous study in 1983, officials at the Ministry of Education were concerned about the high failure rate of foreign students. Failed students returning home are hardly favorable ambassadors for France and their high failure rate contributes to a negative perception of the quality of higher education in France. The students themselves also suffer negative effects from the fear of failure. Although overall pass rates are said to be as high as 95% in some disciplines, foreign students enrolled in the first two years of the first cycle are said to assign themselves only a 30% chance of survival.

The additional selectivity imposed by the preinscription policy has been one approach taken by France to the problem of the failure rate. Still others have been: the creation of a centralized orientation and information bureau to assist students in applying to and choosing among French institutions, the allocation of foreign student adviser positions to the universities, and the development of remedial and bridge programs at some institutions. Additionally, France has in recent years significantly expanded the sources of high-quality information available to students prior to inscription:

> (1) *Bureau of Information and Orientation:* This bureau within the Ministry of Education was created by law in 1984. It is responsible for general information regarding French higher education, much of which has now been computerized or placed within easily accessible graphic and tabular form and which outlines the admissions procedures, programs, and degree offerings for all French higher educational institutions. This information is designed to assist French as well as foreign students. The Bureau is additionally charged with the reception and instruction of foreign students, the development of international scientific and cultural ties, and the expansion of links with higher educational institutions in the EEC.
>
> (2) *Student Support Services:* According to a Ministry of National Education report, French universities have been provided with international relations units and university services for foreign students. These services are designed, it is said, "to provide personalized reception: enrollment formalities, relations with local prefecture, university amenities, advisory board, study timetabling and tuition backup to support the student in his effort to adapt." The Ministry also organizes what its studies show to be highly successful training seminars throughout France to assist in foreign student advising and counseling.
>
> (3) *Remedial Services:* According to the Ministry of National Education, language improvement programs have been instituted both at universities in France and at French institutes abroad. In accordance with government decree, the diplomas offered in these programs may serve as proofs that the student has reached the level of linguistic proficiency required for matriculation. A variety of approaches also exist for the initial preparation of foreign students. Some universities, such as Paris VIII, have designed a remedial year for foreign students. Successful completion of the "zero level" is said to indicate readiness for regular academic work.

Student Response: An interesting study conducted by the Ministry of Education claims without specifying, that student motives for study in France are different for Western and non-Western students, that leading reasons are: result of previous study (54%), family influence (44%), or the result of national priorities at home. The antecedent impetus, however, is said to be "the renown of French educational institutions combined with the desire to prolong their apprenticeship to the language of their chosen country" of study. [13]

Foreign students in France choose specific institutions on the basis of friends or acquaintances, the reputation of the university, its climate or location, and the presence of family members. Although 75% are happy with their choice of institution, 50% are dissatisfied with their course of studies, especially its more applied areas. Forty percent of foreign students retake at least one year of their studies. Not unexpectedly, foreign students tend to have more social relationships with their compatriots than with French students and their leisure activities are frequently solitary. For them, the study shows, normal problems of adolescence and youth are compounded by a sense of isolation in an unfamilar land. Although a good fraction declare their finances to be adequate, the distances between their housing, their part-time jobs, and the university further isolate the foreign student and compound his or her problems of personal and cultural identity.

V. Costs and Expenditures

According to 1985 data, approximately half of the foreign students in France subsist on their own resources, with about 1% obtaining authorization to work part-time or temporarily full-time. A little over a third obtain grants from their own governments of between FF900 and 1800 a month or from national or international bodies ranging from FF2000 to 6000. Another 8% receive French government grants of FF2250 a month from foreign ministry funds, while roughly 5% are awarded grants by the Ministry of Education or from the aid fund operated by the Centre National des Oeuvres Universitaires et Scolaires.

Foreign students from immigrant families resident for more than two years in France receive grants on the same basis as French students, based on identical economic and academic criteria. Students from immigrant families received more than 3000 such awards in 1985.

The French government is sensitive to the difficulties students experience owing to the great inequalities in award levels, the minimal amounts of many foreign government scholarships, and the delays students often experience in receiving them. The Ministry of Education repeatedly reminds foreign governments of the great hardship their students will experience in subsisting on grants of less than FF1600 a month. The government agencies that administer the grants — Centre International des Etudiants et Stagiaires (CIES) and Centres Nationales des Oeuvres Universitaires et Scolaires (CNOUS)— both attempt to assist students with financial problems. CNOUS provides a sum of more than FF173 million for such assistance.

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[13] Denise Auvergne, "L'information pour l'accueil des étudiants étrangers,"*From secondary school to University: new practices of information and guidance.* Proceedings of the second European colloquy, Paris-Nantes, Fondation Rui, 1985.

Unlike Great Britain, which is very open in regard to its scholarship awards and policies, in France both the premises on which aid is awarded and the specific allocations by nation are opaque. A European study team in 1982 found French statistics on this subject impossible to obtain[14] and my own discussions with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1983 led only to rather generalized conclusions: (1) that the cost of such scholarships was being increasingly shared with foreign governments, (2) that priority was, as in other countries, being given to third cycle students, especially those enrolling in science and technology, (3) that special scholarship programs exist for students from former French colonies, and (4) that France awards both *bourses des stages* for short-term training as well as longer-term *bourses d'études*.

In discussing allocations by country, Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokespersons invoked the concept of "equality." More scholarships were said to be awarded to students from developing than from developed countries, owing to their greater need, but an overall evenhandedness was said to be the goal. Also cited as a priority by the Ministry of National Education was targeted scholarship aid directed toward high-caliber, advanced-level students in science and technology. Recent agreements have extended scholarship programs to China and Brazil; this is in keeping with the priority that France has placed on diplomatic and trade relationships with these countries.

In addition to providing scholarship awards for roughly 10,000 foreign students, the French government wholly subsidizes the educational costs of all 123,000 foreign students. This cost ranges from between FF20,000 to 90,000 a year, depending on subject area and cycle. An additional FF5300 in facilities and other administrative expenditures must be added, plus the cost of the heavily subsidized meals available to all French students and expensive health services. Allowing for a wide margin of error, the total cost of subsidy, scholarships, and incidentals could reach FF8 billion a year. This would appear to be ten times the amount that Great Britain, with no tuition costs to support, spends for its scholarship programs. These expenditures do not include moneys allocated for direct aid to developing countries.

VI. Issues and Arguments

Probably because the foreign student issue is so highly sensitive, there is little public discourse on the subject in France at this time. Some of the underlying trends and ambivalences can, however, be seen by an examination of two contrasting institutions which I visited. The University of Paris I complies with the official policy of open welcome for foreign students, while the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, one of the *grandes écoles*, nominally follows official government policy. The latter, taking advantage of the French university system's autonomy, does so with considerably different emphases and results.

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[14] Jean Pierre Jarousse, Alan Smith, Christine Woesler, *Les Etudiants Etrangers: Comparaison internationale des flux et des politiques 1960-80*, Bruxelles, Institut Européen d'Education et de Politique Sociale, 1982.

University of Paris I: Located in the very heart of Left Bank Paris on the Place du Panthéon, this branch of the University enrolls some 35,000-40,000 students; the limits in size set only by *le règle d'autobus*—the constraints of commuting distance. Foreign students comprise some 16-17% of total enrollment (roughly 5500-6500 students.) The university, which specializes in law and public affairs, has numerous overseas connections, including ties with colleges in the United States and Great Britain, but the majority of students are of African origin. Questioned about the philosophical premises that lead to the presence of 5000-6000 foreign students on campus, university spokespersons state that the impetus originates with the students themselves: the intense motivation of Third World students to obtain advanced education in France and, in particular, the usefulness of some of the university's endeavors, such as its work on the development of modern African law, to many of its students. University officials appear sympathetic to the needs of the foreign students themselves, but the university's primary motivation appears to be more ideological: an unquestioning acquiescence in France's *politique d'accueil* based on the intrinsic cosmopolitanism of the university and the continuing potency, ever since the eighteenth century, of French intellectual leadership.

Typical of other French universities at this time, Paris I maintains a centralized reception bureau for foreign students, but primary responsibility lies with an appointee in each discipline who works with individual foreign students. There is no follow up after graduation, however. Quality is said to be maintained by a continuous review of learning (*le contrôle continu de connâissance*) and through the final examination. The quality of entrants apparently varies. For those students who must take an examination in French as part of the preinscription procedures, the review appears to be adequate. But students from those countries where an examination in French is not required are uneven. While there is no ethnic or racial conflict within the university, the atmosphere is described as a "un grand mélange" rather than a melting pot.

Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales: Situated in a wooded area outside Versailles, this modern campus, with its contemporary classroom buildings, up-to-date equipment, and bustling atmosphere, is one of the more than 100 small and medium-sized highly selective *grandes écoles* in France that provide advanced training in engineering, technical, scientific, and management disciplines, as well as arts and education, that have trained France's business and government elite for more than a century.

The Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (HEC) considers itself an internationally oriented institution, emphasizing international management, foreign languages, and an international student exchange network. Its foreign graduates, however, virtually reverse the pattern of origin generally seen in French universities. Only 30% come from Africa, Asia, or the Middle East, while almost 70% come from North and South America and Europe. Only a handful of African students are said to be currently on campus. HEC has been deliberately establishing ties with campuses in industrialized rather than developing countries. It believes the most useful service it can perform in developing countries is to assist them in setting up similar schools and to help to seed their faculties. Its pragmatic attitude toward internationalism is shared by the 126-member Conférence des Grandes Ecoles, which bases its arguments for the internationalization of education on the "globalization of the economy" and the fact that "high performance companies can no longer think in terms of national markets."

VII. Conclusion

In many ways, the difference between the University of Paris I and HEC encapsulates the difference between the more traditional and emerging views of foreign student policy. HEC is the "new world" of scientific and technical exchanges, of modern industrialized nations, of education as commercial transactions based on a global *quid pro quo*. The historical perspective, well illustrated by Paris I, is based on the concept of *noblesse oblige*. It assumes an implicit covenant between France and her former colonies, a covenant that commits the French government to provide higher education for its dependencies. Although that covenant has been modified in recent years to compel identical admissions standards for foreign and French students, its basic premises are kept very much alive by internal and external political objectives. Official French policy takes no heed of the more pragmatic arguments for a foreign student presence that are emerging elsewhere in the world. It does not see them as "tourists," making an immediate contribution to the French economy nor does it place any emphasis on their future potential as purchasers of French manufactured goods and services. The Ministry of Education, which speaks for the government on the topic of foreign students, continues four-squarely to base the country's very costly investment in the education of foreign students on the historical cosmopolitanism of French universities; on an appeal to such logical principles as equality, welcome, and institutional autonomy; and, in more recent literature, on the importance of educational diversity in a rapidly changing world.

These policies and their applications lead France to exceed all other major receiving nations in her hospitality to Third World students, particularly to students of African origin.

In private conversation, however, French officials reveal concern over some of the directions in which their foreign student policy has led them. The number of students from developing countries is seen as disproportionate, but perhaps it cannot be modified, at least in the short-run, for political reasons. The Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Cooperation are said to be at odds over policy in this regard. Of particular concern is the inadequate preparation of students from some developing countries, which merges into the larger question of the quality of French universities at this time—which is generally conceded to be questionable at some institutions. Both the quality of French universities and the presence of large numbers of immigrants in France are the continuing substance of newspaper articles and political debate.

Where the French government does show an official interest in foreign student policy and international exchanges as an adjunct to science and technology is in her relationships with the major industrialized states, especially with her neighbors in Western Europe. Given the opportunity, France would like to increase her involvement in ERASMUS and other European schemes of educational cooperation and is actually doing so through inter-university contacts. But it is difficult for the national government to appear to be actively recruiting European students while at the same time tamping down the numbers from developing countries. France thus finds itself sustaining two policies at once: its highly generous, broadly hospitable programs for students from developing countries and former dependencies and its more scientifically and technologically-based interactions with the industrialized nations of the West.

3. GERMANY

I. Background

Germany has the clearest and most comprehensive foreign student policy of the major Western European receiving nations. It is certainly not immune to the ambiguities and contradictions of attitude that we have seen in France and Great Britain; it, too, must contend with racist and ethnocentric forces within German society, which have their effect on foreign students. But it has been better able than those two countries to reconcile the humanistic view of international education and foreign student policy as a responsibility that advanced industrialized nations have toward developing countries with a realistic view of the importance of scientific and technical exchange and of the cost-benefit advantages of attracting the intellectual talent to its universities and laboratories. In Germany, historic tradition also plays a role, as it does in other countries, but Germany traces its internationalism to its medieval as well as its more modern colonial roots. There is an unusually strong sense of connectedness in Germany with the medieval origins of the university as an international community of students; the concept of the "wandering scholar" is still invoked to justify the presence of foreign students.

Germany's geographic position puts her in a pivotal location. Situated in the center of Europe, Germany is particularly accessible to students from Greece, Turkey, and the Eastern bloc countries, as well as from the Middle East and her own former colonies in Asia and Africa. Germany is further motivated by a continuing post-war need to regain her place in the community of nations by fostering international friendships with both developing and industrialized countries. With the fullest knowledge of the consequences of aggression, Germany is not uncomfortable with the rhetoric of mutual understanding as a goal of foreign student policy, often left unspoken in other major receiving countries. Only in Germany, among the Western European powers, does one read government documents which explicitly and articulately deal with the importance of intercultural dialogue and global, rather than purely national, prosperity.

Many German academics add a more parochial concern to the major national incentives for attracting foreign students. Despite continued university overcrowding, they are fearful of the impact of a stagnant participation rate in higher education and of the steep decline in college-age students anticipated in the 1990s. As a result, some educators believe that a compensatory increase in foreign students should be planned now to keep numbers in balance.

One reason there is so much discussion of foreign student policy in Germany is the number of German organizations which deal with the subject as all or part of their missions. There is, indeed, some confusion of jurisdictions, as everywhere else, and some overlap and contradiction among the federal ministries, the *Länder*, the municipalities, and the universities, and there has been some backing and filling among them. But a series of coordinating bodies keep them generally in good order. The country is also unusually well-supplied with quasi-governmental and voluntary agencies dedicated to international programs and exchanges. Among the most notable are the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, (DAAD) which initiates and coordinates many educational exchange programs and fellowships, and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, which carries on the tradition of international science through grants and fellowships for scholars and students from both advanced and developing countries. Also important in analyzing and coordinating German policies is the German Foundation for International Development, whose purpose is to coordinate "a broad array of public and private organizations and activities related to development assistance and research into the 'conditions, processes, and effects found when people meet people from other cultures in their own or foreign countries.'" Thanks to the influence of these and other organizations and their writings, German foreign student policies often have considerable intellectual depth.

Despite these motivations and commitments, foreign student policy in Germany passed through the same "protectionist" phase in Germany in the early 1980s that we have previously observed in Britain and France. As in France in particular, the desire to restrict the number of foreign students was primarily the result of escalating enrollments and increased attention to quality issues. But it also entwined with the immigrant question. In the early post-war period, when Germany was seeking first to rebuild and then to expand her economy, foreign "guest workers" were encouraged to come to Germany to compensate for an inadequate native-born labor force. As German employment slowed and Germans found themselves without jobs in the '70s and '80s, rising national sentiments saw 4.5 million foreign guest workers as an economically and culturally unassimilable number. These negative sentiments are strongest in those cities and regions where foreign guest workers cluster in distinct districts and where the outward signs of difference—such as dress, food, religious observances, and occasional political demonstrations—are most obvious. As in France, attitudes toward "foreign elements" mark political and social cleavages. A pro-alien demonstration that I saw in Stuttgart in 1988 took as its slogan: "Ausländer bleiben, Nazis vertreiben," a clear reference to the continuing political pressure to revise the *Ausländerrecht*, or immigration regulations, more restrictively. These attitudes in the general population undoubtedly affect the foreign student environment.

II. Recent Developments

Recapitulating worldwide enrollment trends, foreign student numbers in Germany rose dramatically in the late 1970s and continued to rise in the early 1980s. Between 1976 and 1982 alone, the numbers of foreign students in German universities and *Fachhochschulen* rose from 48,599 to 66,435—an average increase of 6% a year, largely fueled by only four countries: Iran, Turkey, Greece, and Indonesia. These growing numbers and the perceived tendency of many such foreign students to extend their stays fed into fears that such enrollments were actually a covert form of immigration. Based on a misreading of the data on foreign student performance and length of stay, the Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK), or Standing Conference of Ministers of Education of the Länder, recommended tightening the admission procedures for foreign students. As a result, new visa requirements were initiated which, like the French preinscription regulations of 1979, demanded proof of admission by a German university or other institution of learning *before* the student could enter the country.

As in other countries, the "protectionist" approach to foreign students of the early 1980s has been significantly moderated in the past few years. Although such expansion would not be without its opponents in the broader population, the Westdeutsche Rektorkonferenz (West German Conference of University Rectors) recently passed and published a document on higher education perspectives for the year 2000, which included a general statement on the increased need for international educational cooperation and also for openness to and support for foreign students at German universities. Reasoning by analogy with the ERASMUS scheme, they set a general enrollment goal for foreign students of 10% of the total university population, which would represent a doubling of the present proportion. Several major reasons exist for this change in attitude. The leading cause would appear to be the declining number of applicants from abroad and the realization that Germany is not in a strong competitive position relative either to the United States or to the other Western European countries. The unfamiliarity and complexity of the German language, the unique and somewhat baffling nature of the German higher educational system, and the resultant costs to the student in time and money of the extended stay needed to complete a German course of study, all detract from Germany's ability to attract high-caliber students to her universities, despite the universally recognized quality of their scientific and technical programs and despite the fact that higher education is free for foreigners as well as nationals. Rather than seeking to restrict foreign student numbers at this time, much of official Germany's attention is being focused on recruiting the best and brightest students she can obtain from abroad and providing them with both the academic programs and academic environment needed to assure them a favorable experience in Germany and hence a positive attitude on their return.

III. Enrollments and Enrollment Trends

Had the KMK and other policy making bodies looked more critically at the data that were beginning to accumulate on foreign students in the early 1980s or been able to look ahead a few years to see changing trend lines, their recommendations and actions might have been different. Although foreign student numbers increased by 37% between 1976 and 1983, their rate of increase was identical with that for German nationals—also 37%—so that they continued to represented a stable 5.5% of the total student body. First-year foreign student numbers, it is true, escalated steeply from +3% or +4% in 1978 and 1979 to +14% in 1980 and 1981 (probably in response to more restrictive British and French policies). But the number of new foreign student entrants had leveled off to +3% in 1982 and was actually -2% in 1983. Statistics for 1986-87 show approximately 77,445 foreign students enrolled in higher education in Germany out of approximately 1.37 million students in all—still about 5.5% of the total. Indeed, the current concern in Germany is not that foreign student numbers are increasing but rather that they might still be in danger of decline.

Bildungsinländer: A still closer look at enrollment figures reveals that even in the high growth period before 1983, approximately half of the increase in foreign student enrollments came from *Bildungsinländer*—that is from non-citizen residents of Germany, usually the children and grandchildren of guest workers. Although technically foreigners, these young people are usually German-born and German-educated. While posing some problems of cultural assimilation or preparedness, they should not be counted as part of an influx of foreigners, nor do they pose the same linguistic and educational problems presented by students of true foreign origin. Still small in number relative to the total guest worker population of more than 4.5 million, the more than 20,000 such students represented one-third of all German "foreign students" by 1984-85 (the last year for which such data are available.) The anomaly of their being eligible for student financial aid like all German-educated students but still subject to foreign student quotas for law and medicine is but one of several policy issues regarding Bildungsinländer at this time.

Enrollment by Country of Origin: Data for 1986-87 show the following distribution of foreign students:

53% from Europe (40,820)
6% from Africa (4,530)
10% from the Americas (7,779)
30% from Asia (22,918)
2% other (1,378)

Thirty percent of all foreign student enrollments in 1983-84 came from three countries: Turkey (12%), Iran (11%), and Greece (8%), but a portion of the Turkish and Greek students were *Bildungsinländer.* It should be understood that two-fifths of the enrollments from Asia are Iranian students; other large contingents are from Indonesia and Korea. Enrollments from the EEC countries have been gradually rising in recent years, as have those from the United States.

Enrollment by Level and Sector: Owing to the differences between the German and other Western European educational systems, no data are published on foreign student enrollments by level. Statistics are, however, kept that differentiate enrollments by sector. These show that, in 1986-87, 71% of all foreign students were enrolled in the university sector and only 18% in the *Fachhochschulen*, with a sprinkling in other higher educational institutions. *Fachhochschulen* enrollments are expected to grow as interest in advanced technical training increases along with the practice-oriented business studies. *Fachhochschulen* retention and graduation rates are significantly higher than those in the university sector owing to their closer supervision of studies.

Enrollment by Disciplines: Given Germany's traditional strengths in scientific fields, it is not surprising that 27% of foreign students were enrolled in engineering in 1986-87, 14% in science and mathematics, and 7% (almost the maximum permitted under *numerus clausus* regulations) in medicine. Linguistics and cultural sciences enrolled 24% of all foreign students—a marked rise over prior years. These figures, however, differ by country of origin. Students from developing countries show very little interest in culture or language. In Germany, as in other countries, they gravitate to more practical subjects. By contrast, almost 40% of the students from EEC nations seek study places in the linguistic and cultural disciplines. Their increase in numbers probably accounts for the upswing in linguistics and cultural studies enrollments.

Socio-Economic and Personal Characteristics: Although highly sensitive to cultural differences, Germany has apparently not compiled or, at least, published, information on the personal backgrounds of its foreign students. Data on gender show that over-all foreign student enrollments in 1986-87 were two-thirds male and one-third female, with female numbers exhibiting a slight rising trend.

IV. Policies and Practices

Two considerations currently appear to dominate specific German policies and practices in regard to the recruitment and admission of foreign students, and welfare and follow-up provisions for them. The first is to avoid policies which would further constrict the numbers of *qualified* students seeking to enter Germany at this time. The second is to see that students are well-informed and well-prepared before they enter and that the courses they take are relevant to the situation they will find on their return to their home countries. More than any other major receiving country, Germany is also working on the issue of follow up, trying to prevent the isolation and rapid obsolescence that frequently afflict its foreign graduates in developing countries.

Recruitment: Because Germany, like France, charges no tuition, there is little motivation for the universities themselves to seek students in bulk, although many of them are eager to form alliances with universities abroad, especially in the technologically advanced countries. Germany does maintain, however, a worldwide information network through her embassies and consulates and provides prospective students with both information and language instruction. One interesting project, started by DAAD in 1982, annually organizes preparation, placement, and supervision for 50 beginning students a year from Tunisia in engineering and science, who come to German universities for a full regular diploma course. DAAD also handles smaller groups from Indonesia (paid for by their home government from World Bank funds) and from Colombia (by Colombian foundation funds).

Admission: The 1982 policy requiring proof of admission to a German university as a prerequisite for entry has been waived for the past five years in favor of a simplified procedure requiring only proofs of "admissibility" to a German university. Visa provisions which inadvertently endorsed some foreign government regulations that imposed political and religious restrictions on university entrance have also been dropped. However, a number of *caveats* do appear in all German recruitment literature. They are all designed to avoid dislocation and failure and to prepare students realistically for their experiences. Among the provisos demanded of students are the requirement:

1. that secondary school leaving certificates demonstrate that students would have been academically admissible to higher education studies in their home following;

2. that secondary school leaving certificates show that students have taken the appropriate preliminary courses for enrollment in the subject they have chosen; and

3. that the school grades on the leaving certificate are good.

Students are advised to select subjects for their post-secondary studies that are compatible with their interests and abilities. Before choosing a subject, they are also advised to consider whether they will be able to find work in their country of origin after taking a degree. The importance of acquiring a knowledge of the German language before coming to Germany is stressed, and students are told to enroll in German courses at either their home university or at a German cultural institute or Goethe Institute in their home country. If such studies are not available, they are encouraged to enroll in a variety of German-language institutes within the Federal Republic of Germany. By whatever means they acquire the German language, they must be able to prove that they have an adequate command of German by taking the so-called PNdS course, which is required of all foreign students from non-German-speaking countries.

Germany has also made a series of decisions regarding equivalencies with the German Abitur. As of 1986, graduates with certificates from secondary schools in more than 90 countries were required to take German entrance examinations, although applicants from a number of these countries were exempted if they had completed a particular course of study there. Primarily, it is the graduates of educational systems in Third World countries who are required to take the *Feststellungsprüfung*. But Australia, Canada, and Japan are also included on the list. Students may enroll in the tuition-free *Studienkollege* (university preparatory schools for foreign students) in order to prepare for the exam. Almost 4700 such students were enrolled in *Studienkollege* in the 1986-87 winter semester.

Additional preparatory courses have recently been added by DAAD for selected groups of foreign graduates from developing countries who subsequently will stay in Germany for doctoral or postgraduate studies on funds from their home government or other research organizations. Through this offer, the German system hopes to attract young graduates on official programs of their home governments from such countries as Brazil or Korea.

As in the other major receiving countries, Germany has had extensive and unhappy experience with foreign students who run out of money in the course of their studies. This has been especially true for students from many of the developing countries as German costs have risen, part-time work has become harder to find, and their own currencies have depreciated. German visa requirements thus now include proof that students have assured means of financing their entire course of study. Students are also warned that they must find living quarters on their own and that such accommodations are frequently hard to find in the immediate vicinity of universities.

General advisement brochures also attempt to provide students with a sense of the way in which German higher education operates. These booklets explain the differences between lecture and seminar, exercise, and laboratory courses—especially in regard to the expectations concerning student classroom participation. Students are also given brief descriptions of the different degrees offered by German institutions and the requisite examinations for them.

Student Welfare Services: All German universities have an International Student Office (*Akademisches Auslandamt*). The responsibilities of these offices, which appear well-respected, include the development of exchange programs with foreign universities, the assessment of individual student credentials, and the counselling of foreign students. Some of the offices take a proactive role in arranging for educational exchanges.

Student Response: Like most other nations with large numbers of foreign students, Germany is becoming increasingly aware of the dissatisfactions of foreign students. A 1987 study by the Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit (BMZ) is sensitive to the psychological and sociological disjunctions that many foreign students undergo. "Double culture-shock" is seen as a real problem for Third World students, who must learn new socio-cultural norms to succeed in German society but then find themselves alienated from the socio-cultural norms in their home countries when they return several years later. "It takes a relatively stable personality," the document states, to live through this double set of adjustments, particularly if the returning graduate is left to his or her own devices upon return.

The BMZ study is candid regarding the prejudices that students from many developing countries must face during their stay in Germany. The sometimes disquieting freedom of the German university structure and the absence of close familial ties affect all students, but "social stereotyping by outsiders due to the color of their skin, nationality, or religion," puts considerable pressure on many Third World students in particular. These stresses are most likely to occur when dealing with authorities or when finding a place to live. Paradoxically, the report comments, it is those foreign students who fail to make the necessary adjustment and do not complete their studies successfully who are often especially unwilling to return home as a "failures" because they anticipate rejection and lack of respect.

Curriculum: The BMZ study also includes a number of criticisms of curriculum, which find that the academic offerings of German universities may not be appropriate to the needs of the returning foreign graduate. This view echoes the findings of an earlier 1981 study which found that courses oriented toward developing countries were the exception rather than the rule and that only a small number of foreign students made use of such courses. Here, too, DAAD has been innovative. Since 1987 it has selected and advertised 13 graduate programs at German universities and *Fachhochschulen* which are especially geared to third-world needs (agriculture, medicine, engineering, etc.) The program, which has met with great interest in German higher educational institutions, is bolstered by scholarships made available from development aid funds, and the number of such programs is expected to increase.

Returning Students: The BMZ study also examines the returning student. It finds that students may not wish to return home because of perceived or actual lack of employment prospects or conflict between home values and newly acquired German behavioral patterns. Returning foreign students from Germany are especially likely to be lonely because their numbers are so few.

Precisely because they are so few, however, such students are of extraordinary potential value for Germany and for their home country. Possessing highly specialized knowledge, able to speak and write the German language, and familiar with German procedures and equipment as well as with a Western mode of life and way of thinking, they are potential leaders in the development of their countries and valuable allies in technical and economic cooperation with Germany.

The BMZ report is particularly astute in its analysis of the role returning foreign students can play in serving as cultural mediators between Western or Westernized nations and countries which not only have a different economic status but also operate from different value systems. In doing so, the BMZ report adds an important and often unnoticed dimension to the debate over the value of foreign students—one which goes beyond the usual trade and aid arguments.

According to the BMZ report, "mere transmittal of technical and scientific knowhow is not enough." If such technology is to take practical root, it is "necessary that there be an efficient reception structure in the developing countries for the new, always knowledge-intensive" tendencies of modern technological society. The report notes that some developing countries have in recent decades backed off from the "quest for modernization that drove their elite in the '50s and 60s" and have deliberately rejected the concomitant endorsement of Western civilization and Western values that has tended to accompany such pursuit of technological advancement. The danger of such a value shift, according to the BMZ, is that the readiness for intercultural dialogue is lost, as well as the ability of developing countries on their own to promote further scientific, technical, and economic expansion or to understand and address the problems inherent in moving toward more advanced states of industrialization and technology. Returning foreign students, who literally and figuratively speak both languages thus form a resource for development which encompasses more than simply their technical skills.

For all these reasons, the BMZ report makes two sets of recommendations in regard to returnees. The first set deals with minimizing the impact of return by promoting reintegration activities during the student's course of academic studies in Germany. It urges that practical courses, apprenticeships, and scientific work in students' home countries be promoted "in a generous fashion" during their course of study and that funding also be provided for occasional trips home. Summer courses in development policy as they relate to the selection of research subjects and methods of research are also advocated as ways of bridging the gap between advanced and developing societal needs and norms. The BMZ report further recommends that the stress on both students and universities be reduced by making plain the realistic amount of time needed to complete a particular course of study, which would include a "foreign student bonus," to compensate for some of the academic difficulties such students face.

The BMZ also makes a second set of recommendations in regard to students who have returned to their home countries. To minimize reentry shock and to give the student a more continuous benefit, the BMZ advocates a number of supportive follow-up measures: publications and alumni organizations; continuing educational events, professional and follow-up seminars; and increased availability of German scientific literature. All of these recommendations implicitly take note not only of the different stages or scientific knowledge and technology in advanced and developing countries but also of the rapid changes in science and technology that can make a university degree obsolete within a relatively short period of time, especially when the home government does not provide facilities or programs for continued academic development.[15]

Finally, it should be noted that in addition to emphasizing greater relevance and practicality within its university curricula, Germany has also been shifting the nature of its development aid and training programs. There has been a marked shift in recent years toward *sur place* studies rather than study in Germany. It is estimated that 60-80% of such instruction is now given in the developing country rather than the 20% estimated for the beginning of the decade.

V. Costs and Expenditures

Germany is reported to spend approximately DM8 billion a year on technical cooperation and loans to developing countries. The total amount spent on foreign student support is also high. The average cost per study place in German post-secondary education now probably exceeds DM13,000. With nearly 80,000 foreign students receiving a completely subsidized education, the additional cost of student welfare programs and extensive foreign student scholarship programs, total expenditure is probably close to a billion marks. Translated into American dollars, that amount is even higher than the French expenditure, although Germany has only about two-thirds the number of foreign students.[16] Despite the significant cost of educating foreign students, the introduction of tuition for foreign students appears to be as unthinkable in Germany as it is in France. Both tradition and politics strongly militate against full-cost or even partial fees.

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[15] *Entwickungs-politik: Empfehlungen zum Studium von Studierenden aus Entwicklungsländern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, BMZ-actuell, Wissenschaftlicher Beirat beim Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit (BMZ), 1987, *passim*.

[16] These figures are largely dependent on government statements of cost per study place and the data bases may well differ by country. There is no question, however, that Germany and France outstrip the other major host countries in the expenditures on foreign students.

VI. Issues and Arguments

For all her concern over development and development policy, Germany is intensely interested in expanding her relationships with the industrialized countries. Although the formal policy documents tend to deal with Third World educational issues, informal conversations far more often focus on Germany's need to expand ties with the technologically advanced countries. The ERASMUS program, which encourages and supports student mobility among EEC countries, is a strong priority for Germany. Although there is some dissatisfaction with the slowness of Brussels and the perceived inadequacy of funding, optimism about the program runs high. As previously noted, the goals of the ERASMUS program include study in another EEC country by at least 10% of the post-secondary student population, to be facilitated by inter-university cooperative arrangements. Interchangeability of curricula and greater recognition of university and technical college degrees are among the specific results anticipated from increased participation in the ERASMUS program. Broader advantages include: increased scientific and technical cooperation, the development of a large cohort of ERASMUS graduates with sophisticated familiarity with the language of another European country (of great benefit to Germany), and encouragement of a Pan-European consciousness that will complement the dropping of trade and travel barriers in 1992. Faced with the burgeoning strength of Asia, as well as the existing influence of such giant nations as the United States and the Soviet Union, Europe is increasingly emphasizing coordinated economic and political activity. Education, particularly as it strengthens the potential for scientific and technical advances and the advance of human resource potential, is seen as a key factor in such inter-European cooperation.

In addition to ERASMUS, Germany is also pursuing numerous joint research projects with other European research entities, particularly in France, and is beginning to develop dual degree programs with other European post-secondary institutions. Approximately 80 such programs were said to be in effect at the beginning of 1988.

As in 1983, relationships with the United States continue to be marked both by desire and disappointment. A four-page *New York Times* insert in October 1987, describing German-American exchange programs, reveals the importance Germany places on her educational and cultural ties with the United States and certainly bears out discussions with German university heads and educational policy makers. But such relationships also betray a growing strain. Recent tax rulings subjecting the recipients of German scholarships to United

States federal taxes are viewed negatively, and German educators are also disturbed by recent ACCRAO recommendations that fail to acknowledge the collegiate status of German *Fachhochschulen* degrees. Both policies are viewed by the Germans as jeopardizing the future of transatlantic exchanges. These problems are compounded by the rising cost of tuition in the United States and the increasingly restrictive regulations regarding work permits for practical training activities.

VII. Conclusion

Like Great Britain and France, Germany is experiencing a renewal of interest in foreign students. Current policies appear to be compounded of both idealism and self-interest. The slight cooling trend in foreign student applications has sensitized Germany to some of its competitive disadvantages in the worldwide "foreign student market" and reinforced its recognition of their importance to foreign trade and diplomatic relations. German policy documents reflect a concern that foreign students succeed, that they not overextend the duration of their studies, that they return to the countries of origin with a favorable view of their German experiences, and also that their studies in Germany—costly both to them and to the German educational system—be useful both to them and to their home countries. More than any other country, Germany remains thoughtful about the relationship between the educational programs offered by the industrialized countries and the actualities and practicalities of developing and newly industrialized states.

At the same time that the focus of many German policy documents and foreign assistance monies is directed to Third World countries, it is clear that German educators and political leaders are placing increasing emphasis on educational exchanges and partnerships with advanced industrialized nations. Part of the motivation here appears to be Germany's continuing concern over retaining her scientific preeminence. Not surprisingly, the predominant strands are economic. Technical knowledge in the late twentieth-century is directly linked to economic prosperity. For the Western industrialized nations, the applications of scientific research and development on production and marketing are imperative. Their technological advantage is their first line of defense against the cheap labor costs of the newly industrialized countries and the market competition from such new industrial powerhouses as Japan and Korea.

We have already seen how the competition for the "best and the brightest" affects British foreign student policy. For Germany the desire to seek out the best and brightest, as evidenced by highly competitive DAAD and Humboldt fellowships, is coupled with a realization that in union there is strength. A pooling of trained scientific personnel and research equipment with other industrialized countries, especially EEC countries and France in particular, is thus seen as an avenue to economic advancement. Germany remains responsive to the needs of the developing world and reflective about the role of foreign students in fostering intercultural understanding. She is also clearly committed to an internationalist perspective on the sharing and acquisition of knowledge that balances an intellectual commitment to science with a pragmatic recognition of the real sources of wealth in a global society.

4. JAPAN

I. Background

In 1984, when most Western countries were still continuing the controls on their foreign student enrollments, Japan announced the bold goal of achieving a 100,000 foreign student population by the year 2000. At the time the policy announcement was made, the total number of foreign students in Japan was approximately 12,000. Four years later the number had more than doubled and stood at 25,000. Ministry of Education officials remain moderately confident that the target number will be reached by the end of the century.

Japan's new assertiveness in this field has considerable symbolic significance. It dramatically registers the end of a purely Western focus for foreign student enrollments, and it clearly parallels the Asian shift in the world's economy. Japan is not the only non-Western country to attract significant numbers of foreign students. India and Egypt are also enrolling foreign students from less developed countries within their geographic orbit. But Japan's proposed numbers dwarf any projections that can be made for India and Egypt or for the Philippines, which also draw large numbers of foreign students. Like Japan's business and technological ventures, this new effort to attract foreign students will immediately place her in the forefront of industrialized nations. With 100,000 foreign students Japan would be second only to the United States and France as an international student destination. Even so, foreign students would still only constitute 5% of the Japan's huge post-secondary student population.

Formal policy statements by the Prime Minister and by the Minister of Education view the proposed increase in foreign student numbers as part of a broader international commitment by the Japanese nation as a whole. "What is required in Japan today," states a 1984 government document dealing with educational reform, "is the internationalization of 'people' subsequent to the internationalization of 'goods,' 'money,' and 'information.'" The document goes on to say that: "One of the most important tasks for Japanese society is for people to have an interest in, understand and accept, foreigners and other people somewhat different from themselves and increase mutual contacts with them."[17]

Such statements as these, which vary greatly from the traditionally closed perspectives of Japanese society, reveal profound changes at work. Internationalization is different from Westernization. It looks not just to the adaptation and assimilation of knowledge from other countries but to the sharing and exchanging of information. It assumes parity rather than subordination among cultures. In order to achieve its international goals, Japan has declared herself willing to admit large numbers of foreigners (i.e. foreign students) into her midst, despite an historic aversion to immigrant groups.

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[17] National Council on Educational Reform: Government of Japan, *Reports on Educational Reform, 1984.*

Many motives would appear to contribute to this about-face in Japanese policy. First may be an element of national pride. A leader among industrial nations, Japan has apparently come to believe that her worldwide intellectual stature entitles and enables her to become a leader in education and research. Japan also has the finances with which to take this step. Her great imbalance of exports over imports provides both the resources with which to undertake a vast expansion of educational capacity and a reason for doing so, since such generosity to foreign students enables her to redress in some small measure the imbalance of trade with some of her debtor nations. It is reported that several Asian nations have specifically requested Japan to take this step.

Like Germany, which has had to wrestle with the widespread animosity created by her role in two world wars, Japan must also continue to combat the hostility engendered by her conquests in China and Southeast Asia and to some degree perpetuated by her current economic hegemony. Bringing foreign students to Japan, familiarizing them with Japanese customs, developing their respect for Japanese technology and products is thus viewed as a way to overcome antagonisms and secure further world markets. It is certainly tied in closely with the need to expand familiarity with the Japanese language and to spread its use beyond Japan's very limited boundaries.

Japanese history reveals minimal preparation for admitting large numbers of foreign students, although a surprising number of Chinese and Korean students did study in Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century. An early illustration of the highly pragmatic motivations that often guide foreign students is to be seen in the large numbers of Chinese students—more than 135,000 between 1900 and 1937—who enrolled in "rapid completion" programs in Japanese universities in order to bypass certain difficult Chinese civil service examinations. Very few of the students were full-time, however, and the Japanese university system remained essentially closed to outsiders (and very restrictive in its enrollment of Japanese domestic students) until after 1945.

After World War II, occupation authorities moved to democratize Japanese higher eduction and at least minimally to expand its contacts with the rest of the world. A foreign study program funded by Government Appropriation for Relief in Occupied Areas Fund (GARIOA) supported about 800 Japanese students on study-abroad programs in the United States, and large numbers of Japanese have sought out their educations in the Western industrialized countries ever since.

In 1954 the Ministry of Education (MOE) introduced a system of government-sponsored grants for foreign students. Although the number of recipients rose from 23 students in 1954 to 200 by 1964, the stipends remained small and housing and instructional programs were apparently inadequate. Scholarship recipients actually went on strike on several occasions in order to obtain better treatment.

Funding for MOE (or Monbusho) scholarships increased significantly in 1971, as did the number of recipients. By the mid-1980s, more than 10,000 students from approximately 100 countries had benefited from Monbusho scholarships. Japanese government statistics indicate that between 1984 and 1988, the number of students holding Monbusho scholarships rose from 2345 to 4118, as part of the government's stated goal of reaching 10,000 Monbusho recipients a year by the end of the century. Proposals have been made to increase the target number for Monbusho recipients to 20,000—perhaps in response to the high cost of the yen and its inhibitive effect on unsubsidized enrollments.

II. Recent Developments

The spectacular advances in Japanese foreign student policy can only be understood in the context of changing Japanese goals and self-image. Owing to the decentralized nature of Japanese higher education, there have been few direct government actions to implement the new policy targets. But the government has continued to foster and endorse public pronouncements on behalf of an expanded internationalism that includes not only enlarged numbers of foreign students but emphasis on other kinds of international educational and cultural exchanges as well. These international activities are justified on moral grounds as a "reaffirmation of humanity." They are also supported by references to the diplomatic and trade benefits they confer.

The importance of increased international contacts and understanding has been a recurrent theme in the reports issued by the National Council on Education Reform, which was established by Prime Minister Nakasone in 1984. These reports hammer home the importance of reducing Japanese chauvinism. They argue that the Japanese people must learn to balance their "pride in Japan's culture" with an openness to other nations and cultures. If they "are to be accepted in the international community," the report urges, Japanese citizens must combine "the identity of being Japanese" with the "ability to regard themselves as relative beings." More specifically, the report continues, "the Japanese people need to learn specifically that there are a great variety of different life styles, customs, and value systems in the world," and to develop the ability to look at Japan in a global and unprejudiced perspective. Emphasizing that "Japan cannot survive in isolation from Asia," the Japanese people are urged "to turn their eyes to neighboring Asian countries to learn the real state of affairs in these countries." Curricula for Japanese history and for world history and geography must be revised to provide the perspective of comparative culture.

The increasing number of Japanese nationals returning from extended stays abroad are also part of Japan's new internationalist perspectives. The 1984 report expands the concept of "foreign student" to include Japanese children and adults who have lived and studied abroad. Contrary to current practice, schools are asked to be open entities where "foreign children, as well as those Japanese children who have returned from a long stay abroad, can easily enter at any stage and study together with other Japanese children, and where full advantage is taken of their experience overseas." The reports states that those teachers who have traveled or studied abroad should be utilized positively and more foreign teachers should be invited to teach in the Japanese secondary school systems, not simply for language instruction but also for cultural exchange activities.[18]

It should be noted that 800 English language teachers, primarily American, are currently teaching in Japan under a special government program that assigns them not only to the big cities but to rural areas as well. This action is in keeping with another set of recommendations in the 1984 report: that emphasis should be placed on the mastery of English as an international language. While English is dominant, however, neither English nor the other major Western European languages should be exclusively studied. The report states that university students should also be able to choose a second foreign language "from the languages of Asian nations neighboring to Japan."

The Reform document sees language instruction as going both ways. The Japanese should learn foreign languages; but foreigners should learn Japanese. Expanding other nations' familiarity with the Japanese language is viewed as part of the process of internationalization. Teaching Japanese to foreigners is a "pressing task," according to the report. The universities must thus establish both "undergraduate and graduate courses for the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language" and Japanese language instruction must be more widely available in foreign countries.[19]

The 1984 Reports on Educational Reform are primarily pedagogical and philosophical documents. The linkage between Japan's internationalized educational policies and Japanese diplomatic and commercial interests is spelled out in the so-called Maekawa Report (Report of the Advisory Group on Economic

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[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 405-406.

Structural Adjustment for International Harmony), which was issued in April 1984. The report summarizes its findings as follows:

> Having achieved very rapid economic growth in the 40 years since the end of the war, Japan today occupies an important position in the international community...
>
> The time has come for Japan to make a historical transformation in its traditional policies on economic management and on the nation's lifestyle. There can be no further development for Japan without this transformation.[20]

The Maekawa Report sets up a series of intermediate-term national policies which include: reducing the trade imbalance to "one consistent with international harmony" and transforming "the Japanese economic structure into one oriented toward international coordination." Japan is specifically urged to "contribute to the world community" not only economically but also in the scientific and technological, cultural, and academic fields.[21]

According to the Maekawa Report, such changes require more than simply regulatory reforms. They demand a complete metamorphosis of the national consciousness—from conformity and insularity to creativity and internationalism. Achieving such a national transformation is the topic of the Second Report on Educational Reform, issued in October 1986, which is even more radical than the first report in discussing the importance of internationalizing Japan's educational system. While the Second Report repeats many of the specifics of its predecessor, it goes far beyond them in its critique of Japan's current educational system and in its demand for radical change. It aims at a transformation of the Japanese educational system that will stress the principles of "freedom, autonomy, and responsibility"—principles it associates with the West. The report is deeply critical of the uniformity and provincialism fostered by the Japanese educational system and of the excessive "group consciousness" and imitativeness that it fosters. Exposure to international influences, both through curricula and through personal contacts, is seen as a valuable corrective to such a closed system:

> Internationalization in education is not limited to the system but involves liberalizing Japanese education and the consciousness of its educators. To this end, it is important to foster through every possible educational opportunity, constant interest in and tolerance of what is different, and establish an educational system with the capacity for self-renovation that can handle ever-changing international relations with flexibility and improve itself on its own.[22]

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[20] Ken'ichi Koyama, "The Future Has Already Begun— The Third Educational Reform Aims to Cultivate World Citizens for the 21st Century, *Look Japan*, August 10, 1986, p. 2.

[21] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[22] Koyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

III. Enrollment Data

As of May 1, 1988, a total of 25,643 foreign students were enrolled in Japanese universities and colleges. Of these, 20,349 were studying at their own private expense, 4,118 were Monbusho scholarship students, and 976 were sponsored by foreign governments. While these numbers are still very far from the stated goal of 100,000 foreign students by the Year 2000, they show a remarkable upward turn since 1984, when the policy was first announced. Between 1984 and 1988, the total number of students—private, Monbusho, and government-sponsored—increased by 107%. Privately supported students alone increased by 117%. Although the increase in the over-all number of students is undoubtedly congruent with government policies, the motor force would appear to be a notable growth in the number of foreign students choosing to study in Japan at their own expense.

Enrollment by Country of Origin: The great preponderance—88.9%—of foreign students in Japan come from other Asian countries. North America provides another 4.1% and Europe another 2.4%. Africa, the Middle East, Central and South America and Oceania account for the remaining 5% of foreign student places. China, Taiwan, and Korea are the three largest Asian sending nations. Chinese foreign student enrollments increased almost ninefold between 1980 and 1986; Korean enrollments showed a sixfold gain. The Chinese enrollment increase up to now is most obviously related to changes in policy in that country and part of a worldwide increase in the number of Chinese studying abroad. Korean enrollments may be influenced by the presence of a sizable Korean minority resident in Japan, although the links between Koreans in Japan and Koreans at home are said to be somewhat tenuous.

Enrollment by Level: Approximately 43% of all foreign students in Japan were enrolled in undergraduate courses, including junior colleges, in 1986, while 37% were enrolled at the graduate level. An additional 20% were attending technical colleges and special training schools for programs of varying lengths and levels of complexity.

Monbusho scholars show a different pattern and reflect the priority that the Japanese government, like governments elsewhere, places upon graduate students. 85.2% of all Monbusho scholars are enrolled in graduate programs and only 3.4% in technical colleges and special training schools.

Enrollment by Disciplines: Approximately 45% of all foreign students, including most European and North American students, are enrolled in programs in the humanities and social science. In view of Japanese technological preeminence and the pent-up demand for science and engineering education among Asian students, the relatively low levels of enrollment in engineering and

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science programs are somewhat surprising. 20.8% of all foreign students are enrolled in engineering programs and only 2.5% in science. To some degree these enrollments reflect the concentration of non-Monbusho students at the undergraduate level, but they may also reflect negative judgments by students regarding the quality—and availability—of Japanese programs in these areas.

The picture is different, however, for Monbusho scholars, probably because of their more concentrated enrollment at the graduate level. 35.2% of all Monbusho scholars were enrolled in engineering programs in 1987-88 and 7.8% in the sciences. The whole graduate area, in fact, presents a very different picture from the undergraduate level. Severe overcrowding has been reported recently in certain graduate schools of agriculture, engineering, science, and medicine, all of which are popular with foreign students. Over half (56.2%) of all graduate students in Japan are studying in those four fields, with engineering (31.1%) the most popular. The concentration of foreign engineering students in a handful of doctoral engineering programs—Tokyo Institute of Technology (43%), Kyushu University (42%), Nagoya University (38%), and Tokyo University (28%) is said to be causing governmental concern.

Geographic Distribution: As in the Western European countries, foreign students in Japan tend to cluster in the major urban areas. Most foreign students in Japan are enrolled in the Greater Tokyo area, although they are also to be found in significant numbers at such other urban universities as Kyoto or Hiroshima. Not surprisingly, this high rate of concentration in a single geographic area is raising some anxieties, especially in view of the general urban overcrowding in Japan.

Socio-Economic and Personal Characteristics: According to a 1985 study, the ratio of men to women foreign students in Japan was 7:3 in 1985; their average age was 27.3; one-third were married, and one-fourth were living with parents, spouse, or other family members while in Japan. More than half listed their prior occupation as students, but a high proportion of foreign students had been previously employed as teachers or researchers or as physicians, engineers, or other professionals.

Private Colleges and Universities: In looking at the distribution of foreign students in Japan by sector and region it is important to remember that Japan currently enrolls about half of its university and college students in private institutions. Approximately 80% of all post-secondary students in Japan were enrolled in private sector institutions in 1980 and even higher percentages of junior college and special training school students. Although private universities can be among the most prestigious in the nation, most private institutions of higher learning have a considerable disadvantage in resources and often operate with extremely high student-teacher ratios. Because of such cost-factors, they tend to emphasize the social sciences and humanities rather than the more costly science and technology programs. With most of the national universities limiting their enrollment of foreign students because of resource limitations (even though they receive government funding for foreign students above and beyond their regular enrollment quotas), private universities actually enroll almost one-half of the foreign students in Japan. The national universities, however, have a 2:1 graduate/undergraduate ratio, while the private universities have a 1:4 ratio. Several of the larger and more prestigious private universities, such as Sophia, International Christian University, and Keio University are using English as their language of instruction for foreign students in some programs. The presence of so many self-supported foreign students in tuition-charging private universities, combined with the costliness of living in Japan, suggests either affluence, urgency, or both.

IV. Policies and Practices

The Japanese government's plans for achieving the enrollment of 100,000 foreign students by the Year 2000 involve some rather detailed projections. Thus the greatest expansion—from 40,000 to 100,000—is planned for the period from 1992 to 2000 when the demographic decline of Japanese 18 to 22-year-olds will have relieved the pressure on Japanese universities and when the development of facilities for overseas students, a high priority for the 1983-1992 period, will have been accomplished. Government plans also foresee an increase in graduate level enrollments for foreign students, even though the intake ratio between national and private universities for all students is planned to shift from roughly 1:1 to 1:2. The only serious deterrent to these goals anticipated by the government is the high value of the yen and the high cost of living in Japan generally, which may serve to discourage prospective foreign students.

Recruitment: As in other countries, the administration and to some degree, the determination of foreign student policy is divided between the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Foreign students abroad, either as applicants or as alumni, are the province of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. Foreign Affairs has two major tasks in regard to recruitment: (1) to provide information regarding universities and life in Japan, and (2) to provide Japanese language training.

In keeping with Japanese government priorities, increased attention is being paid to providing Japanese language instruction abroad. Twenty-three embassies and consulates have Japanese language classes and three branch offices of the Japan Foundation also give Japanese language instruction. The Japan Foundation is currently opening a Japanese language center in the outskirts of Tokyo with accommodations for 150 trainees. Efforts are being made to improve the quality of such teaching, which is generally acknowledged to be unsatisfactory. It should be added that about ten of the national universities now have centers for the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language.

Admissions: Visa regulations for students demand that all entrants, whether for one-year or three-year periods, "must provide a guarantee for living and travel expenses while in Japan." The system requires a "third party to be responsible for return travel in the case that the student for whatever reason falls into financial difficulties." With Japan so desirable a location for immigrants from Asian nations as distant as Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and certainly for individuals from China, Korea, and Southeast Asia, these guarantor provisions for students have been subject to abuse. Many dubious—if not actually non-existent—language schools post bond in return for a substantial fee; the recipients may be students or simply covert workers and immigrants, seeking the benefits of life in Japan. As in all industrialized countries with high standards of living, Japan is an attractive destination for workers seeking to send substantial moneys home to their families or for families seeking to immigrate. For spatial and cultural reasons Japan has not encouraged such immigration in the past. It continues, for example, to be the only major receiving country for foreign students without a policy for the admission of refugees. Japan is thus concerned both about the possibilities that certain schools will simply bilk foreign students of their moneys and that these schools may also become covert sources of undesired immigrants.

Given both relatively little prior experience with foreign students and decentralized governance, university admissions policies for foreign students continue to show considerable inconsistency and complexity. Monbusho scholars and students sponsored by their home governments receive considerable placement assistance, but privately funded students, whether attempting to enter national or private universities, must deal with very diverse admissions, selection, and testing procedures. There is still relatively little recognition in Japan of the comparative merits of various foreign educational systems. Some nationwide tests have been developed for assessing the educational attainments and language proficiency of self-subsidized students, but considerable need apparently exists to upgrade the preparation of students attempting the various standardized admissions tests in Japan.

Student Welfare Services: Owing to the extraordinarily rapid expansion of Japanese higher education since the war and the great national enthusiasm for higher educational opportunity shown by Japanese students, resources have not always kept pace with demand. Class sizes, especially in the private sector, are limited only by physical facilities. These overall conditions are probably differentially harmful to foreign students, for whom such a system is likely to prove too impersonal. More important, however, from the perspective of the foreign student, is the extreme reliance in Japanese higher education on what has been termed the "almighty professor," whose decision, whether or not to help a student, determines whether the student will receive adequate academic and career guidance, be awarded necessary research funds, and even whether or not the student will be allowed to remain in Japan or dismissed for reasons of mental or physical illness or moral or political "mischief." The professor also determines whether and when the student will receive a degree.

According to an interesting study by Joseph Hicks of the Research Institute for Higher Education of Hiroshima University, foreign students are highly dependent on the professor's interest in them personally, his willingness to allocate time to them, and the congruence of his research interests with those of the foreign students. For Japanese students, these kinds of relations with their professors are crucial both in shaping their academic careers and, very often, in determining their future academic or business placements. For foreign students, the ability to form such ties successfully is also highly important, but may be hampered by linguistic or cultural barriers or by the professor's belief that they are an addendum rather than a central part of his work. There is already some evidence that faculty are balking at additional numbers of foreign students.[23] At Tokyo Institute of Technology, for example, where foreign students make up an unusually high proportion of the student body, teaching staff have indicated that they believe two foreign students per professor constitutes a maximum number, particularly since foreign students are considered often ill-prepared for graduate study.[24] Similar reports are heard from other universities. This faculty resistance, which one also hears about in Australia, raises the question of how successfully the Japanese university system will manage the added demands placed on it by 100,000 foreign students, of whom 30,000 are expected to be at the graduate level.

To counteract some of these problems, the Ministry of Education has established a "special guidance fund for foreign students." These additional guidance funds are to be used for four major purposes: (1) extra-curricular activities and special guidance courses, (2) home stay programs, (3) support for tutors, (4) non-academic orientation activities, such as tourism.

Here, too, the problem is one of numbers. Because the tutors are themselves usually busy graduate students, they often find it too time-consuming to assist their foreign advisees in overcoming the socio-cultural as well as academic problems. According to Hicks, tutors appear to be most successful in providing assistance with the Japanese language and with specialist studies. They are understandably less able to help with living conditions and personal problems, where most foreign students in Japan tend to rely on other members of their co-national group.

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[23] Joseph Eugene Hicks, "The Guidance of Foreign Students at Japanese Universities," *Reports from the 1984 OECD JAPAN Seminar On Higher Education*, Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University, pp. 201-211.

[24] Hicks, "Foreign Student Policy In Japan—Getting Ready for the 21st Century—Admissions, Placement, and Distribution," *Research in Higher Education—Daigaku Ronshu*, No. 14 (1985), p. 204.

In regard to language, it should be noted that students from countries using ideographic (Kanji) languages—China, Korea, and Taiwan—appear to do best in mastering Japanese, presumably because the written language creates relatively little difficulty for them. On the other hand, students from Southeast Asia and, of course, non-Asian students are consistently reported to have great difficulties in learning sufficient Japanese to do well in their studies. It is said that most require two to three years to gain even a working knowledge of Japanese. Many of these students do have English as a second language. This helps since many disciplines rely on texts in English. Foreign students without adequate English or Japanese are thus likely to be in special straits. These linguistic difficulties in part explain the imbalance in numbers among Asian students between those from China, Korea, and Taiwan and those from Southeast Asia.

Still another difficulty for foreign students is the unusual nature, by Western standards, of doctorates in the humanities and social sciences. Rather than being conferred at the conclusion of a course of study and the completion of a thesis, doctorates in these fields in Japan are based on the development of a body of work. Doctorates in the humanities and social sciences thus correspond more to associate professorships or even full professorship in the United States. While this practice clearly makes them highly prestigious degrees in Japan, it also makes them unattractive for foreign students, who cannot develop such a body of published work, but who also do not wish to return to their home countries after long and expensive years of study without a recognized doctorate.

A final difficulty for all students in Japan, but particularly for foreign students, is the absence of residential facilities. Understandably, all Japanese urban universities are cramped for space, most Japanese students living either at home or in rented premises. For foreign students the issue of housing is compounded by the high cost of living in Japan and the unwillingness of many Japanese householders to accept foreign Asian tenants. Moreover, rents are high and "key money" is frequently exorbitant. A questionnaire issued in 1986 showed that 90% of all foreign students in Japan were having "some financial difficulties" and 60% were having "serious financial difficulties." Discussions in the Diet during the spring of 1988 focussed on the hardships of foreign students, some of which made newspaper headlines.

The Japanese government has been taking a number of steps to address both the housing and cost-of-living problems. A special ministerial committee, appointed in April 1988, is apparently prepared to make recommendations for tuition reductions for foreign students and to provide special allowances to enable foreign students to study at private universities. At the request of the Japanese government, some major corporations are making places in their workers' dormitories available to students from abroad.

Student Response: Since a major premise of Japan's foreign student policy is the importance of increasing Japanese friendships abroad, there is an understandable interest in foreign students' attitudes toward Japan. A very interesting and candid series of studies by Sumiko Iwao and Shigeru Hagiwara of the Institute for Communications Research at Keio University in Tokyo charts in detail the reaction of foreign students to their educational experiences in Japan. Noting that it would be unwise simply to increase the number of foreign students in Japan without analyzing foreign student attitudes, the report examines "how the experiences of foreign students...influence their attitudes toward Japan and their images of the Japanese." The report takes as its central viewpoint the fact that:

> Among the foreign students who have thus far studied in Japan, quite a few have achieved important positions in their native countries in which they use their experience abroad to facilitate relations between their country and Japan. There are, however, and appreciable number of people who have left Japan with vehemently anti-Japanese feelings. Among the leaders of the anti-Japanese movement that emerged in Southeast Asia in the first half of the 1970s, it is reported quite a few had formerly studied in Japan and harbored bitter feelings stemming from that experience.[25]

Based on a 1985 survey, the Iwao study confirms the impression that Western students study in Japan because of their interest in Japanese language and culture, while Asian students tend to major in the sciences, with the intention of acquiring specific technical skills or obtaining a degree. Asian students tend to be older, stay longer, and acquire a greater proficiency in Japanese. Somewhat surprisingly, despite their closer geographic proximity and generally lower living standards, they tend to be less satisfied with living conditions in Japan and the attitude shown them by the Japanese. Asian students tend to rate the Japanese low in sociability and to characterize them as "cold, unapproachable, unfriendly, and prejudiced."[26] Westerners rate the Japanese higher on the sociability scale than do the Asians but are critical of the quality of Japanese higher education. They also fault the Japanese on "modernity", which is apparently a code word for racist and sexist tendencies. Both Asians and Western foreign students rate the Japanese high on diligence and reliability.

Interestingly enough, length of stay in Japan is frequently a negative factor, although Iwao was unable to test the hypothesis which holds that foreign students' perceptions of their host countries frequently improve after taking a negative turn. What seems clear is that the basic courtesy of the Japanese, which leads them to be kind and generous toward "guests," does not extend to foreigners on extended stays who try to become involved in Japanese social life. "The more they try to blend in with the Japanese around them, the more impenetrable they find Japanese society."[27] Asians, as a group, report greater dissatisfaction than Caucasians with their ability to "be accepted by Japanese society, no matter how fluent their Japanese is, or how long they stay in Japan."[28] Perhaps the strong sense of cultural affinity that most Asian students apparently have with Japanese society makes this rejection all the more painful and incomprehensible. Both Western and Asian students are convinced that the Japanese treat Caucasians better than other groups.

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[25] Sumiko Iwao and Shigeru Hagiwara, *Foreign Students in Japan: Report on a Ten-Year Research Report*, Institute for Communications Research, Keio University, Tokyo, April 1988, p. 6.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Iwao's rather negative findings should be considered in conjunction with another study, conducted at Hiroshima University, which shows that academic rather than social considerations rank highest on an importance scale for students. The 1987 Hiroshima University study shows foreign students receiving their greatest satisfaction from improving their command of Japanese, getting the degree, and obtaining knowledge that will be useful in the future. Finding a part-time job, being able to borrow money in an emergency, and having the opportunity to join work-study programs at Japanese companies were listed as the areas affording least satisfaction.[29]

Perhaps because the academic benefits overweigh the social and cultural adjustments or perhaps because the passing of time has dimmed their personal resentments, the Iwao study does show that former foreign students in Japan who have returned home take a more positive view of their experience in Japan than do the students still enrolled there. Asian returnees place considerable value on degrees from a Japanese university and believe that studying abroad has significantly contributed to their quality of life.

It would be interesting and valuable to have such frank and extensive analyses of short-term and long-term foreign student reactions to other major receiving countries since none of the Western countries is exempt from the racial and ethnic prejudices so candidly examined in Japan.

V. Costs and Expenditures

In moving toward its goal of 100,000 foreign students, the Japanese government will be massively increasing an already conspicuous component of its higher education budget. Government costs, as they relate to foreign students, may be divided into three categories: scholarship support, direct costs, and capital costs.

Scholarship Support: The Monbusho scholarships offered by the Japanese government are extremely generous in the amount of support they offer foreign students. According to a 1987 report by the Ministry of Education, the monthly allowance for Monbusho graduate students is ¥177,500 (¥134,500 for undergraduates). To this must be added annual subsidies of ¥40,000 as a research allowance for graduate students, ¥25,000 as an arrival allowance for all students , and up to ¥12,000 a month bonus for students living in major cities. Monbusho scholars are exempt from all tuition costs, which average ¥300,000 at national universities and Y500,000 at private institutions. Additionally the Japanese government will reimburse 80% of their medical costs.

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[29] Joe E. Hicks and Yoshio Amifuji, "A Questionnaire Study of the Needs of Asian Foreign Students at Selected Japanese National Universities—A Brief Report of the Main Findings," *Research in Higher Education—Daigaku Ronshu*, No. 17 (1987), *passim*.

Total annual support per Monbusho student thus equals almost ¥2 million a year. Multiplied by the 4100 Monbusho scholarship holders, the cost to the Japanese government in 1987 for the Monbusho scholarship program was about ¥8 billion.

Direct Costs: The Japanese government does not publish statistics on educational costs, but ¥750,000 a year would seem to be a conservative estimate of the full direct cost of instruction per student.

Since Monbusho scholars pay no tuition, all direct costs associated with their instruction must be borne by the Japanese government. All other foreign students in national universities must pay the same tuition as Japanese students and thus cost the government only the differential between tuition and full cost. Using the conservative ¥750,000 per student estimate, the Japanese subsidy for the roughly 10,000 students now enrolled in national universities currently totals some ¥4.5 billion a year. As the number of foreign students in national universities triples by the end of the century, the cost to the Japanese government will increase proportionately.

Capital Costs: Japan is also planning to increase the physical capacity of her universities, and most importantly, their residential facilities, in order to accommodate the needs of 100,000 foreign students. These costs could be considerable, but cannot at this time be estimated.

VI. Issues and Arguments

A familiar buzzword in Japanese society these days is *kokusaika* or internationalization. It is at the heart of such influential public statements as the reports on educational reform and also of such documents as the Maekawa Report which project Japan's future world trade position. All these efforts toward internationalization reflect the extraordinary changes in the past few decades that have made Japan a world leader. They also reflect a recognition both of the persisting ambivalence toward Japan as a world power that exists in Asia and elsewhere and of the contradictions and ambiguities within Japanese society itself, where the drive toward Westernization and internationalization conflict with the traditional aspects of Japanese culture, particularly its closed quality. It is no accident that the *Asian Forum*, a private Japanese policy group, has urged the Japanese people to stop despising those from other parts of Asia and showing exaggerated respect for Caucasians from America and Europe or that newspaper articles contrast the professions of *kokusaika* with the intense ethnocentricity of Japanese culture. Japan exhibits, to an unusual degree, the cultural and ethnic conflicts posed by the increasing heterogeneity of a globalized society. She has certainly been widely criticized for some of the racially insensitive statements by her Prime Minister and other senior government officials. She is also, however, the only major global power to take internationalization as the keystone of her educational reform movement and to propose a massive increase in foreign students for reasons other than financial gain.

The internationalism reflected in the education reform and Maekawa documents appears to have a subtext. The proposals they contain are more than an endorsement of internationalist values; they are also a direct thrust at Japanese cultural patterns. While the rest of the world envies the efficiency of Japan's elementary and secondary schools and the triumphs of its industrial system, the Japanese themselves are more critical. They are disparaging of what they view as a lack of creativity and individualism in their culture and of its excessive conformity and imitativeness. One may, if one chooses, see this as yet another manifestation of Japan's desire to replicate the West. But it is perhaps better viewed as a triumph of internationalism itself—the conflict in perspectives producing a heightened self-awareness and a valuable incentive for change.

VII. Conclusion

Foreign student policy in Japan exists independently of historic tradition. It is new rather than old and, at this point, it is highly assertive of Japan's future international leadership in higher education as well as purely commercial enterprises. A superlative marketing nation, Japan cannot be insensitive of commercial benefits to be reaped from having influential alumni in Asia and other countries throughout the world. It is certainly highly conscious—as shown by its studies of foreign student reactions to their stay in Japan—of what might be called the "customer response."

But Japanese foreign student policy would seem to be far more than a commercial undertaking. Successive Japanese governments have made strong policy declarations in regard to massive increases in the number of foreign students. It remains to be seen how successful Japan will be in achieving its numerical goals and how effectively it can alter some of the negatives in its current environment for foreign students. If Japan does, indeed, emerge as an educational superpower in international education, its impact on the rest of the world is once again likely to be profound. The need to "catch-up" with Japan in foreign students could theoretically stimulate more positive policies all around.

5. AUSTRALIA

I. Background

> More than at any time in our history, Australia is now an integral part of the international community. The barriers to contact, communication and trade generated in the past by our remoteness have been removed over the last quarter of a century as cultural, technological and economic revolutions have swept over the globe...
>
> If we are to respond and to prosper as a nation, there must be changes in the attitudes, practices, and processes in all sectors and at all levels of the Australian community. The education sector and our higher education system in particular must play a leading role in promoting these changes.
>
> *The Hon. John S. Dawkins, Minister of Employment, Education and Training, 1987.*

These prefatory remarks to the highly influential "Green Paper" on higher education sound the keynote for many of the rapid changes that have been taking place in Australian foreign student policy recently.[30] Like Japan, Australia is increasingly a world nation. Unlike Japan, she is by her own description a "middle level power" rather than a superpower, and her major sphere of influence is restricted to Southeast Asia and Oceania. Like Britain and France and unlike Japan and West Germany, she currently has a negative rather than a favorable balance of trade. Australia is experiencing relatively limited economic growth. More than any of the other nations we have been discussing, Australia is in the process of assimilating large and diverse immigrant populations. Her official government policy is "multiculturalism," but vestiges of "White Australia" attitudes are far from eradicated in the general population.

Historically, foreign student policy has shallow roots in Australia. Australia has been formally receptive to foreign students since 1904, four years after Federation. But only about 500 students a year were enrolled in Australian universities prior to 1945, and Australia did not enroll significant numbers of foreign students until after World War II when it began to be a destination for Asian and Pacific students. In 1950 Australia and other Commonwealth countries began offering education aid to developing countries under the Colombo Plan. Students sponsored under the Colombo Plan and under subsequent Australian government schemes for foreign students numbered some 1200 by 1962.

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[30] The Green Paper has now been translated into a White Paper (official government policy document). The body of this chapter describes foreign student policy in Australia through January, 1989. The conclusion section updates that discussion on the basis of information made available to me in June, 1989.

Until the mid-1970s foreign student enrollments and foreign student numbers grew only moderately and attracted relatively little attention. When tuition fees were abolished for both Australian and foreign students in 1973, places for privately supported foreign students were given an upper limit of 10,000. This policy was rescinded in 1979 in favor of a more flexible approach based on excess institutional capacity. In 1980, the government imposed an Overseas Students charge for post-secondary students. Popularly called a "visa fee," it ranged from approximately $A1500 to $A2500 a year, depending on the discipline. Quotas by country were introduced shortly thereafter, as was the requirement that foreign students go home for two years before applying to immigrate. This provision sharply reduced the numbers of students granted permanent residence in Australia—from some 75% in the 1970s to less than 10% by 1983.

The number of foreign students began rising more steeply after 1980, partly in response to the British imposition of full-cost fees. Australia then emerged as an attractive English-speaking alternative at the very time that Australian colleges and universities were beginning to experience overcrowding. The displacement of qualified Australian students by foreign students thus became an issue, especially since it was claimed that the partial subsidy of foreign students through low tuition charges was costing the financially strapped Australian government as much as $A100 million a year.[31] Awareness of a foreign student problem was further exacerbated by the recognition that on a few campuses and in some programs foreign students formed either a high proportion or the majority of students enrolled.

II. Recent Developments

The British experience in imposing full cost fees in 1979 provided both a model and a cautionary experience for Australia as it sought ways to constrain the flow of foreign students without disrupting her foreign relationships. A Committee of Review was therefore appointed in September, 1983, to recommend changes in foreign student policy. Its chair was Professor John Goldring, then of Macquarie University, and the resulting report, *Mutual Advantage*, issued in March 1984, is commonly known as the Goldring Report. The document examined foreign student policy under five headings: international understanding and cultural exchange, development assistance, immigration interests, educational interests, and trade interests. One of the Committee's most interesting findings was that, contrary to the belief that overseas students were wealthy, most foreign students in Australia came from Asian families with relatively low incomes by Australian standards and relatively low levels of educational attainment. Its major recommendations were:

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[31] Philip W. Jones, *Australia's International Relations in Education*, Australian Education Review, No. 23, Australian Council for Educational Research, pp. 70-77.

> 1. that a coherent foreign student policy served Australian national and international interests;
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> 2. that a market-based approach to higher education would be inappropriate because education is more than "a commodity which can be bought and sold";
>
> 3. that foreign students "should make some contribution to the cost of their education and training in Australia" but that the benefits to Australia and the limited means of most foreign students made a charge of 30-40% of educational costs the maximum reasonable tuition;
>
> 4. that students be selected on the basis of academic merit rather than by country quotas, but that universities limit their foreign student numbers to roughly 5-10% of their total enrollments, with no more than 25% in any particular discipline; and
>
> 5. that the teaching of English as a foreign language and student welfare provisions for overseas students be significantly improved.

In many ways the Goldring Report represented a "classical" view of foreign student policy. It emphasized cultural understanding and exchanges and the obligation of developed countries "to contribute to the social and economic development of people and institutions in developing countries." Although it acknowledged the contribution that foreign students could make to future diplomatic and trade relationships for Australia, it primarily emphasized the unquantifiable nature of such benefits and resisted a purely market-based approach to educational planning. Rejecting full-cost or even major-cost policies for foreign students, the Goldring Report argued that tuition costs should remain relatively low, both to provide broad access and to acknowledge the "mutual advantage" provided by a foreign student presence. The report estimated that foreign students and their dependents spent about $A105 million a year in Australia, but it took a rather skeptical stance in regard to the "touristic" benefits of foreign students. Academic merit was to be the basis of admission, rather than political considerations, and universities in general were encouraged to increase their numbers of foreign student enrollees up to the canonical 10%.

The Goldring Report soon had its counterstatement. At the same time that the Goldring committee was preparing its recommendations, yet another commission was addressing the related question of overseas aid. *The Report of* *the Committee to Review The Australian Overseas Aid Program*, commonly called the Jackson Report after its chair Sir Gordon Jackson, took an almost diametrically opposed stand on most foreign student issues, even though consideration of the foreign student question had not been part of its original charge. The Jackson Committee is believed to have been pushed to extend its brief to cover the foreign student question by some highly influential leaders on the political and educational scene, who were dissatisfied with the operation of foreign student policy in Australia and looked to a more "market-based" approach to the subject. If the Goldring report represents the "classical" viewpoint, the Jackson report equally epitomizes what might be called "modernist"or "libertarian" perspectives.

The Jackson Report argues that education is "an export industry" and that "institutions should be encouraged to compete for students and funds."[32] Excessive regulation and bureaucracy are currently impeding Australia's ability to attract the best foreign students, it argues, and Australia is additionally losing out because its "Ph.D. structure has failed to remain in touch with contemporary practices."[33] According to the Jackson Report, these inadequacies are damaging Australian foreign relations, depriving her of valuable cultural contacts, and neglecting a potentially significant source of export dollars.

The major findings and recommendations of the Jackson Commission are almost totally market-based and stand, for the most part, in sharp contrast to those of the Goldring Commission. They are:

1. that the "hidden subsidy" to the education of students from developing countries in Australia be made an explicit line item in the development assistance budget;

2. that foreign students be accepted on the basis of academic qualifications, available places, and cost-effectiveness of enrollments;

3. that the overseas student charge should be gradually increased to cover the full-cost of their education and that the campuses that enroll foreign students keep the revenues;

4. that a 10% limit per institution and a 20% limit per program be imposed on subsidized overseas student enrollments, but that, where capacity existed, universities could enroll "full-cost" private overseas students without quota limit;

5. that education for foreign students be developed as "an 'export' sector"; and

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[32] *Report of the Committee to Review The Australian Overseas Aid Program*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1984, p. 87.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

6. that an expanded scholarship scheme allow for government-to-government and merit scholarships as well as for special scholarships targeted at disadvantaged groups and women in developing countries.

With its emphasis on education as an export industry and on the operation of free market forces, the Jackson Report makes explicit the economic basis of foreign student policy. Unlike the Goldring Report, it hammers home the economic advantages to be derived from foreign students:

> The demand for education services throughout the Asian region is likely to be quite large for the next 20 or so years. The expansion of Australian education to meet this demand would encourage cultural exchanges and tourism. It would provide jobs for Australians directly, and there would be multiplier effects through the provision of food, shelter, clothing, and entertainment for students. In American university towns one 'town' job is generally added for every additional 'gown' enrolled. The development of an education 'export industry', particularly in the graduate field, would benefit the economy directly, and through research it would be linked to the 'high tech' and 'new tech' industries which Australia so strongly wishes to develop.[34]

The Jackson Report also incorporates an educational philosophy consonant with that being promulgated at present by Australia's Ministry of Education, Employment, and Training. It is critical of the "pure and often prolonged" nature of Australian doctoral study, and believes that emphasizing the more applied aspects of research and making them more relevant to developing countries could benefit both foreign and Australian students. Providing more relevant studies for foreign students from developing countries, the report argues, would also make them more capable of and more willing to return home on the completion of their degrees and hence, it is implied, less likely to overstay or immigrate.

The simultaneous appearance of the Goldring and Jackson Reports sparked a debate, which was heightened by the vigor with which the "free market" advocates of the Jackson proposals lobbied for their views. Issues of immigration, of tuition and fee policies, and the whole question of the "privatization" of higher education and the possibility of tuition fees for Australian students, all came to the surface during the controversy.

Initially, at least, the response by the Australian government was a compromise with leanings towards Goldring:

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[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

1. There would be ceilings on the total number of sponsored and subsidized foreign students in Australia and a continuation of country quotas for students in those categories.

2. The Overseas Student charge for "subsidized" private students would be increased to 35% of full cost in 1986 and 45% in 1987. [It would eventually rise to 55% in 1988.]

3. Universities could enroll subsidized private overseas students up to a 10% limit per institution and a 20% limit per program. Where capacity existed universities could enroll "full-cost" private overseas students without quota limit, but the Ministry of Education, Employment and Training had to certify that no public resources were being diverted to cover the costs of such students.

4. An Overseas Student Office would be established within the education portfolio to coordinate all matters relating to private overseas students. An interdepartmental task force, with representatives from Education, Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, and Foreign Affairs would serve to resolve policy issues.

III. Enrollments and Enrollment Trends

In 1987 a total of 16,142 foreign students were enrolled in tertiary educational institutions in Australia, an increase of approximately 25% over the 1984 numbers and an increase of more than 100% over the 1980 figures. By 1988 the total number of foreign students had risen another 10% but with a significant shift from subsidized to full-cost students. The distribution of students between these categories is illuminating, as is the marked increase in Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) scholarships—a sign that Australia in expanding its targeted scholarship program.

Category	1987	1988
AIDAB Sponsored	1076	1930
Subsidized	14444	13084
Full-Cost	622	2641
TOTAL	16142	17655

In 1988, an additional 2532 full-fee paying foreign students were enrolled in secondary school programs (up from 846 the year before) and another 15,995 full-cost students were to be found in non-formal programs, such as English language centers (ELICOS programs) and other special studies, some of them university-based, up from 5663 the year before. This astonishing 275% increase non-formal programs in one year is testimony to the power of the free market and to the entrepreneurial capacities of Australian universities and educational institutions. It is also a sign of the pent-up demand for higher education in Asia that Australia is beginning to tap. Although the total number of full-time privately supported foreign students in formal post-secondary education in Australia has doubled since 1980, it is apparent from these most recent figures that the potential of the full-cost student for full-time enrollment in formal and non-formal programs in Australian universities has yet to be fully tapped.

Foreign students currently constitute about 4% of the roughly 400,000 higher educational enrollments in Australia. Owing to a certain degree of "leakage" in the system (Australian institutions are apparently rather casual in asking foreign students to identify themselves) the previous statistics probably underestimate the number of foreign students enrolled. However, new legislation should make this impossible after 1989.

Distribution by Country of Origin: In 1988, as in previous years, almost 88% of Australia's more than 17,000 foreign students came from Asia and another 6% from Oceania. More than 8500 of the Asian students came from Malaysia, overwhelmingly the largest number. Sizable groups of private students also came from Hong Kong, Indonesia, the Philippines, and the People's Republic of China. Europe sent approximately 500 students; North and South America, 200; Africa, 140; and the Middle East, 90.

Distribution by Level and Sector: Data by higher educational type for 1988 shows two-thirds of private foreign students enrolled in the university sector and one-third in the Technical and Advanced Further Education (TAFE) sector. Undergraduate enrollments accounted for three-quarters of all foreign students in the university sector. These data suggest that Australia is currently seen more as a safety valve for burgeoning undergraduate enrollments in Asia (particularly in Malaysia, where government regulations restrict the enrollment of Chinese-background students), rather than as a place for advanced study. Although graduate enrollments have shown a slight rising trend in the past year, these data would seem to confirm some of the criticisms leveled against graduate education by both the Jackson Committee and the *Green Book*. They may also reflect the difficulty that Australia, like Japan, is having in establishing an international reputation for its graduate degrees. While attracted by the convenient location and consequent economies of Australian undergraduate studies, it would seem that Asian students are still willing to travel half way around the world for American or European graduate programs. It may be that two different populations are involved and that the European and American foreign students are, in general, somewhat more affluent than those choosing Australia as a destination.

Distribution by Discipline: The pattern of enrollment by discipline in

Australia replicates that in several other major receiving countries, with foreign students obviously drawn to the more practical subjects. In 1988, just about 50% of undergraduate foreign students in the university sector were enrolled in either business administration, economics, or engineering. Almost another 20% were enrolled in life and physical sciences and computer and information sciences.

Geographic Distribution: Not surprisingly, foreign student enrollments are concentrated in the major cities of Australia, Melbourne and Sydney in particular. A few universities which have historically recruited intensively abroad also have unusually high enrollments of overseas student. Curtin University, Monash, and the University of New South Wales have led the way with such enrollments; Curtin is said to have been a major political force behind the adoption of the full-cost policy.

Personal Characteristics and Data: The Goldring Commission Report of 1984 extensively examined the socio-economic background of foreign students, finding, as has been noted, that most of them were "not, by Australian standards, rich." Only 18% of the fathers and 9% of the mothers of foreign students had a tertiary education. Approximately one-fourth came from families where the fathers were businessmen or business proprietors. A further 16% of the fathers were employed in business administration and 14% were professionals. More than two-thirds of the mothers had no occupations outside the home. Of the remainder, the largest proportion were professionals. These figures did, however, vary by country of origin. The proportion of fathers who were farmers, fishermen, semi-skilled, or skilled workers was highest among students coming from Africa and the Middle East and lowest among those from Indonesia, where only 2% of all students listed such familial backgrounds.

The proportion of women among the foreign students sampled by the Goldring Commission was 36%—virtually identical with the representation of Australian women in higher education. Women were far more highly represented at the undergraduate than at the graduate level.

IV. Policies and Practices

Although the "subsidized student" program and the "full cost" program were theoretically designed to exist side-by-side, the full-cost program appears to be largely displacing the subsidized scheme. The reason appears to lie in the inherent clumsiness of the subsidized plan and its relatively small price differential for many disciplines from the full-cost charge. Under the subsidized plan, students cannot be admitted to a specific university until the institution has indicated a willingness to make an offer and the Australian government has approved their inclusion within their country quota. Owing to the slowness of the process, most subsidized students do not learn whether they have been admitted to the institution of their choice until only two or three weeks before the beginning of the Australian academic year, which, awkwardly for most of them, begins in March. Given the choice between being given virtually no time to prepare for their arrival or—what is worse—being left stranded without a place after an almost nine-month wait, more and more potentially subsidized students are opting for the full-cost program. It is reported that in 1988 a number of subsidized places were not taken up, while the number of full-cost students grew. When I visited Australia in June 1988, most observers were convinced that the days of the subsidized program are numbered and that the government can beneficially transfer its relatively untargeted expenditures to new scholarship schemes for disadvantaged students and women from developing countries.

Recruitment: According to a report issued by Australian Trade Commission (AUSTRADE) the recruitment of foreign students into "the Australian education and training sectors represents...one of the great export success stories of the last two years."[35] According to AUSTRADE figures, earnings from foreign students and other related educational activities totalled $A60 million in foreign exchange earnings in 1986-87. More than $A200 million a year is predicted by 1988-89, with figures potentially skyrocketing from there.

As part of its mandate to increase Australian trade in the education and training sector, AUSTRADE distributes recruitment information through 50 offices in 45 countries and has appointed special Marketing Officers in Thailand, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Korea. In addition to promoting Australian education within individual countries, AUSTRADE also participates actively in regional educational trade fairs. By government mandate, it offers its assistance to individual universities on a fee for service basis.

Information about higher education in Australia is also distributed under the auspices of the International Development Program, or IDP, an organization created in 1969 by the Australian Vice Chancellors Committee to foster international educational activities. With the encouragement of the Ministry for Employment, Education, and Training, IDP publishes a thick volume entitled *Australian Study Opportunities—A Directory for Overseas Students*, which combines general information about life and education in Australia, with instructions for applying to universities and colleges in Australia, a listing of programs and institutions, and individual institutional advertisements.

In addition to using AUSTRADE and IDP to recruit foreign students to their campuses, many Australian universities have themselves been engaging in very energetic entrepreneurship. To visit Australian campuses is often to hear of some enthusiastic market plans. For some institutions such plans often involve ambitions to recruit Americans and Europeans as well as more realistic interest in Asian students. There is considerable interest in executive training programs. Motivations and targets vary by institution, but they most commonly are money—urgently needed until last year's major reversal of a previously negative budgetary climate for higher education—followed by the ability to sustain small, high quality programs for which Australian enrollments would be insufficient. Another reason cited by some university officials for enrolling large numbers of foreign students—full-cost or subsidized—is the ability such enrollments confer to maintain enrollment levels while keeping admissions standards high for Australian students.

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[35] *AUSTRADE Export Development Strategy for the Education and Training Sector*, Australian Trade Commission, undated, p. 1.

But keeping admissions standards high means keeping Australian students out. An estimated 20,000 qualified Australian students were unable to find places in the universities of their choice in 1987 and 1988 because of a shortage of places. It is thus highly important that the recruitment of foreign students not be perceived as conflicting with the fulfillment of Australian home needs for higher education. One of the major arguments for the full-fee approach is that it treats foreign students as "add-ons" and that the revenues they create will completely fund the faculty and facilities needed to handle them without depriving Australian students of instruction. Some institutions are, indeed, using the revenues from overseas student enrollments to build new facilities, but these facilities are apparently not always directly related to the expanded student numbers. For these reasons, not all universities are enthusiastic about increasing their foreign student enrollments. As reported of Japan, some faculty apparently believe that the added work is excessive, and some institutions are fearful that the potential conflict with their enrollment of Australian students militates against any sharp increase in foreign student numbers.

Admissions: With the admission of full-fee foreign students exclusively in the hands of the individual universities, it is understandable that approaches vary both with the local situation in regard to the enrollment of Australian home students and with the mission and self-image of the institution itself. There are nevertheless certain common entrance and language requirements:

(1) *Entrance Requirements:* In order to qualify as an undergraduate, a foreign student must have either graduated from an Australian secondary school or have completed the appropriate number of A levels in his or her home country. Evaluation of such equivalencies is left to the individual institution admitting the student.

(2) *English Language Proficiency:* If English is not the student's first language, he or she must achieve fixed levels on one of several different examinations, including Australian, American and British versions of English-as-a-Second-Language testing.(The Australian language test has been criticized for cultural bias and ineffectiveness in recent years and may be phased out.)

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The teaching of English-as-a-Second-Language for students intending to enroll in higher educations in Australia and for visitors, businesspeople and others is an increasing activity in Australia and another source by which universities seek to augment their revenues. As in other countries, there is a danger from unauthorized and inadequate language teaching centers. This risk is being addressed by the Australian government through upgraded registration and accreditation procedures.

Student Welfare Services: While it is agreed that foreign students need support services and that full-fee foreign students are likely to demand them, there is no official government program for providing either orientation or student welfare programs. Rather, the individual institutions are expected to provide such services from their foreign student revenues. A number of campuses now have or are developing good "one-stop shops," where foreign students can be assisted in the resolution of their difficulties. The vice-chancellors of the Australian universities have recently adopted the Australian equivalent of America's "Wingspread Principles"—the code of practice for foreign students recommended by the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers. Additionally, AIDAB does provide welfare services to both sponsored and subsidized students, and institutions can contract with AIDAB to provide those services to full-fee students.

Curriculum: Both the Goldring and Jackson Reports deal with the issue of relevant curricula for students from developing countries. Some campuses appear to be developing relevant short courses and others are looking at the issue. The Jackson Report is also critical of the excessive length and abstract nature of most Australian graduate study. Again, some changes appear to be in progress at individual institutions.

Student Response: Australia is the first choice for study by 86% of the students in the Goldring analysis. (A previous 1973 study had listed this figure at only 28%). Students reported difficulties with the English language, particularly "'the weird Australian accent,'" but the majority of students (56%) stated that they "liked Australia" and an additional 20% said they "liked it a lot." Cultural adjustment varied with the country of origin. According to the Goldring Report some students, especially those from the South Pacific, experienced "some culture shock in relation to morality, values, and attitudes."

When asked what they liked best about Australia, students most frequently cited "friendships with Australians" and only 9% described Australians as either "a bit unfriendly" or "very hostile." These figures compare very favorably with comparable questions for other countries and say much in favor of the general openness of Australian society. Despite some Australian fears over potential immigration, only 10% of those included in the survey stated that they intended to apply for permission to immigrate.[36]

V. Costs and Expenditures

Educational assistance to developing countries is vested in AIDAB, the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau, a branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition to the direct scholarship support it provides for foreign students, AIDAB is required by law to list the cost of the subsidized foreign student program as a line item in its budget. That figure is given as $85 million for 1987. Total Australian development aid in all categories was cited as 0.5% of the national income in 1984, placing just within the top half of the major donor industrialized countries, but had dropped to 0.36%—out of the top half—by 1988.

As discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, the Australian government has now announced that as of January 1990, subsidies would no longer be available for new foreign students entering Australian higher education, although those already enrolled under the subsidy program would continue their existing financial arrangements. Instead, Australia would offer up to 2000 scholarships a year by the early 1990s. The new policy is designed to address the Australian government's concerns that much of the subsidy money had been going to relatively affluent students. But like all current Australian schemes involving foreign students it has a clearly commercial motive as well. The new policy is expected to encourage Australian institutions to compete more aggressively in an export market anticipated to draw more than $300 million in foreign funds for 1989 alone.

VI. Issues and Arguments

The charging of full-cost fees appears to be a settled issue in Australia, although there remains a residual discomfort over the commercialization of education for foreign students. There seems little disagreement that the evolution of foreign student policy over the next few years, as in Great Britain, will lead to the substitution of targeted scholarship schemes for the remaining portions of the subsidized fee program (that under which students currently pay 55% of the estimated full-cost of their education). What constitutes full-costs, whether they should be marginal or recurrent fees, and how flexible the universities may be in determining and applying them are already subjects of debate. But one occasionally has the sense in speaking to Australian university representatives that their preferred tuition level is simply what the market will bear.

If she chooses to abandon the subsidized program, with all its perplexities, Australia will also have to face the question of perceptions abroad. Whether foreign governments will accept the elimination of subsidies, even if their students are not using them, or whether they will perceive the withdrawal of the subsidy as a reduction in aid no matter what alternatives are offered, is a matter of doubt. There have already been rumblings on the subject from nations such as Malaysia which are deeply dependent on the Australian educational system.

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[36] *Mutual Advantage: Report of the Committee of Review of Private Overseas Student Policy*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, March, 1984.

As previously noted, an area of more intensive controversy is the potential conflict between foreign and domestic enrollments in Australia. Last year, for the second year in a row, up to 20,000 qualified Australian students were said to be denied university places because of limited institutional capacity to absorb them. These figures probably need to be modified to account for those students who applied only to highly competitive campuses or disciplines and were unwilling to accept second-best. But the number of qualified students denied entrance is clearly a problem for a nation seeking to expand its numbers of university graduates. For the Australian government which must answer to angry taxpaying parents, it is certainly a political problem.

Government policy claims that the full-cost foreign student program adds places to existing institutions by adding revenues. Thus, instead of depriving domestic students of opportunities, as the subsidized program is often perceived to do, it actually increases educational opportunity by allowing campuses to expand their instructional capacity. While this may be true in the long run, as new facilities are added, and in certain highly elastic disciplines, which can readily absorb additional students, there are some evident loopholes in the argument. New classrooms or buildings cannot be built immediately, and moneys earned from foreign student revenues may well be diverted to high-priority institutional goals, such as library expansion, rather than to the actual increase of places. The need to divert foreign student revenues to strained areas in the budget is intensified by cutbacks in funding for higher education in Australia. Although currently not much of a factor in the debate over the adequacy of the Australian educational system, the foreign enrollment issue could "hot up" if overseas enrollments continue to grow.

Allowing foreign students to pay for their "add-on" places also raises an interesting equity dilemma. If it is good policy for Australia to admit "full cost" foreign students to apparently overcrowded institutions or programs, why is it not equally good policy to allow domestic students to similarly opt for full-cost fees?

Current answers to this question appear to be somewhat inconsistent, according to the source. Foreign students are said to add an important dimension to Australian higher education. They are said to be admitted only to programs which are underenrolled. They are said not to represent critical numbers. Some knowledgeable observers have claimed that the inconsistency is deliberate and that the imposition of full fees for foreign students is simply the opening wedge in charging tuition to domestic students as well. This argument gains strength from the current government proposal to impose a "graduate tax" by which students would post-pay for a portion of their education after reaching a certain income level. It seems fairly clear that the current Australian government will only undertake an expansion of its existing educational system—both for foreign and domestic students—if funding is either privatized in some way or at least partially subsidized through increased student fees or other chargeback devices.

Another potential controversy, likely to come under debate in the next few years, involves the relationship between foreign student enrollments and immigration status. Under the subsidized student program, foreign students must return to their home countries for two years after receiving their Australian degrees. Under the full-cost program, however, they may apply immediately from offshore. Given Australia's criteria for immigration: needed skill or training, proficiency in English, and entrepreneurial ability (or capital), it is clear that students participating in the full-cost program will have a leg up on immediate immigration. While fully consonant with the official Australian policy of multiculturalism, their potential for contributing to an immigration increase is likely to be resisted by those segments of the population who continue to oppose further diversification of the Australian population, particularly in regard to the admission of Asian nationals. So far not a significant problem, this issue could escalate in Australia, as it has in other countries, if foreign student numbers increase or if economic conditions worsen.

VII. Conclusion

The recent Australian experience carries to its logical extreme tendencies we have seen in other countries to base their foreign student policy on considerations of self-interest. Apart from the Goldring Report, little of the recent public discussion has attached much weight to the non-quantifiable benefits of a foreign student presence, although many individual educators remain nostalgic about Australia's seemingly more generous past and committed to the belief that merit rather than money should guide the admission of all students.

It was clear when I visited Australia in June 1988 that the awkwardness of running three simultaneous admissions schemes—sponsored, subsidized, and full-cost—was becoming untenable, and that alternative schemes that would phase out the subsidy program and substitute targeted scholarships based on merit and need were being proposed. Australian government policies have now been codified in a White Paper (definitive government policy statement). They may be summarized as follows:

1. All foreign student quotas are to be abolished after January 1, 1990. Numbers will be restricted only by institutional capacity to absorb overseas students. All new students will

enter on a full-fee basis, with either the student or sponsor, including public, private, and local sponsors, responsible for the full-cost fee.

2. The Australian government at the same time commits itself to maintaining foreign student access by retaining the same level of expenditure for a new program of targeted scholarships that had previously been provided for foreign student subsidies. This number is scheduled to rise to 2000 new scholarships by 1992 for allocation to students from developing countries on merit and equity criteria. An additional 300 scholarships will be phased in by 1992 for postgraduate research students from developed countries.

Other changes that have taken place since my June 1988 visit to Australia include a dramatic increase in the number of foreign students choosing to undertake higher education in Australia on a full-fee basis. There were 2641 such students in Spring 1988. That number is now 6000 and presumable will climb further in coming years as the pressures from Southeast Asia—and one would predict Hong Kong, in particular—continue to grow. According to DEET (Department of Employment, Education and Training) the surpluses generated by such programs are being applied to improve insitutional resources and student services and, in some cases, for scholarship programs for deserving foreign students. It is reported that a number of universities are also improving their preparatory and academic programs for foreign students, and that Australian students are already reaping the benefits of such curricular and teaching reviews. From the Australian perspective, the changes in foreign student policy can be summarized as follows:

- expanding access for foreign students to education and training in Australia;

- improving the quality of the educational and support services available to foreign students;

- helping to articulate more clearly the benefits of international educational exchanges;

- providing a single and equitable basis for foreign student admissions policies; and

- supporting more general reforms in higher education policies and practices.

As in Japan, the heightened importance of foreign students in Australia signals the emergence of Asia both as a seemingly inexhaustible source of foreign student enrollees and as a rising factor on the world's educational scene. Australia offers what is perceived to be a high-quality undergraduate education to university candidates from Asia and the South Pacific who are unwilling or unable to spend three or four years abroad in Europe or the United States. It will be interesting to observe whether efforts to strengthen Australian graduate programs, as evidenced by such efforts as the new scholarship scheme for graduate students from developed countries, will ultimately make Australia a magnet for graduate students as well. As of now, however, it is Australian undergraduate enrollments that are surging.

Like Great Britain, but having learned from Britain's errors, Australia has resolved her foreign student dilemmas by gradual transitions to a market solution. Current Australian foreign student policy is very similar in broadest outline to British policy: full-fee costs from those who can afford them and targeted scholarships based on merit and need. It is difficult to quarrel with the logic of the premise, especially when Australian capacity for absorbing domestic students continues limited. It is certainly difficult to quarrel with policies which are ostensibly leading to improvements in curriculum and support services for foreign and domestic students alike. The true test of such policy is the extent to which available scholarships represent a reasonable allocation of Australian resources. Starting from the current expenditure level is certainly a sensible way to begin, and significant expansions are promised fairly rapidly. Since Australian development assistance was not in the top half of the major donor countries in 1988, such expansion is presumably justified.

In the meantime, many individual Australian institutions are rapidly and cheerfully pursuing the goal of greater foreign student enrollments. "Foreign students," says one university official, "we live by them and for them!"

6. CANADA

I. Background

Canada is the world's fifth largest receiving nation for foreign students. They come from 183 countries around the world and constitute almost 5% of Canada's full-time student population. Canada has an extensive and intelligent literature on foreign student policy; a recent bibliography on international students in Canada runs to more than 80 pages. But despite its large numbers of foreign students and extensive writings on the topic, Canada has virtually no foreign student policies, except as they are haphazardly embodied in immigration regulations or in the practices and procedures of provincial governments or of its individual universities and campuses. In its comparative absence of national policies or pronouncements on foreign students Canada, stands in contrast to all the other major receiving countries, except the United States, which has a similar void. Unlike the other major receiving countries we have studied, Canada uses neither national tuition levels nor admissions policies to regulate the flow of students from abroad. Canada is also the only major receiving country to have sustained continuing declines in its numbers of foreign students over the past five years. Some critics link the absence of a coordinated national policy with the decline of foreign student enrollments, claiming that the drop in student numbers is the direct result of fragmented policies on differential fees and of the failure to present a coherent image of Canada overseas. But the issue is considerably more complex.

The main reason for this "neglect of policy"—to use the title of an influential study on the subject—is to be found in the Canadian governance system. Its federated system of government, like that of the United States, places responsibility for education in the provinces rather than under national authority. There is no national department or ministry of education, although the Secretary of State does have overview for a limited number of activities, such as the promotion of Canadian studies abroad. There have been many calls for greater federal leadership—or at least a greater coordinating role—on the part of the Ottawa government in the area of foreign students. The previous Secretary of State called the development of such policies a high priority. This view was reaffirmed at two major 1987 conferences, one co-sponsored by the Department of the Secretary of State and the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, and one sponsored by the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE). Both conferences emphasized the importance of an "open door" policy for foreign students and stressed their "present contribution to higher eduction and their future contribution to Canada's influence." Speaking at the CBIE conference, the Secretary of State encapsulated most of the current arguments in favor of an affirmative foreign student policy:

> There is no argument from anybody on the importance of international students. Everyone agrees at the Forum and elsewhere that foreign students enrich all of our higher education: they benefit the economies of the communities in which they live; they strengthen Canada's relations with their home countries; they help Canada's competitive position in world trade; they represent a vital part of this country's development assistance. No one has any difficulty with understanding the importance of international students.[37]

II. Recent Developments

Canada has not always been concerned about shrinking numbers of foreign students. A major impetus toward the imposition of additional differential fees in the 1980s and of continuing immigration restrictions on foreign students' ability to enter or work in Canada was said to have been a 20-minute CTV "documentary" film called "Campus Giveaway." Reflecting and exacerbating existing concerns about an excess number of Asian immigrants, the film is said to have "depicted an invasion of Canada's universities by oriental hordes." The University of Toronto, in particular, was seen as harboring great numbers of free-loading Hong Kong and Malaysian students, who deprived Canadian students of the educational resources they had earned through their own and their parents' tax contributions.

Sensationalist though it was, the CTV program did capture a key element of Canada's foreign student population: the imbalance of national representation, in which a handful of nations are "over-represented" and whole categories of countries "underrepresented." In 1987-88, almost half of the full-time foreign students in Canada's universities came from Hong Kong, the United States, The People's Republic of China, Malaysia, and Singapore. This pattern has pretty much prevailed for more than a decade, although China replaced the United Kingdom in the top five only in 1986-87.

The need to achieve a more balanced distribution of foreign students and, particularly, to focus resources on educational aid to students from developing countries has keynoted much of the extensive recent discussion of foreign student policy. As early as 1981, an influential report entitled *The Right Mix*, argued that Canada needed to coordinate its policies and fee structures across federal, provincial and institutional lines to achieve a balanced geographic representation by country of origin and also to disperse foreign students more widely across the entire Canadian university system rather than having them concentrated in a few urban areas. The rationale for a better mix and distribution of students, by discipline and level of study, as well as by university placement was further enunciated in the report *Some Questions of Balance* issued by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. This thoughtful 1984 study emphasized the educational arguments for a better mix. It claimed that the presence of foreign students distributed across institutions and across the curriculum gave Canadian students the opportunity to "broaden their outlook and to enlarge their knowledge of themselves"—a goal that was defeated when, as frequently happens, large numbers of foreign students from the same country of origin simply formed enclaves or "ghettoes" on selected campuses.

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[37] Canadian Bureau for International Education, *The National Report on International Students in Canada, Ottawa: 1988*, pp. 28-29

Some of these views were also echoed in a North-South Institute briefing paper of 1985, *Foreign Students in Canada: A Neglected Foreign Policy Issue*. It argued against "educational protectionism" on the grounds of both "moral principle and long-term self-interest," claiming that these should go hand-in-hand. Highlighting the shortcomings noted in previous documents, the North-South report made two especially notable points: (1) that fewer than 8% of Canada's foreign students came from the low-income developing countries which comprise half the world's total population, and (2) that responsibility for foreign student policy was fragmented among "at least four separate bodies within the federal government—Employment and Immigration Canada; External Affairs, Canada; Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); and the Department of the Secretary of State"—not to mention the ten provinces, 270 universities and colleges, and other national professional groups and associations.

Attempts at creating a more coordinated national policy can be seen in the 1986 report of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Canada's International Relations. Entitled *Independence and Internationalism*, the report admits that "foreign students constitute an important asset for Canada that has not been sufficiently recognized in terms of improving trade opportunities, increasing cultural contacts and more generally for foreign policy." It recommends that "the federal government prepare a statement of national goals and objectives as they relate to foreign students" and encourages the provinces to do likewise. It treads a cautious path, however, between recognizing the assistance that Canada can provide to Third World countries in developing their educational systems and raising concern over the dangers of "brain drain." The Joint Committee's solution, to emphasize graduate education for foreign students, is explicitly rejected in the government response to the Joint Committee, which speaks of the importance of technical and vocational education as well as graduate study. The government did endorse the creation of a national goals and policies statement, but emphasized the extensive commitment that Canada is making to foreign educational development through its expanded CIDA scholarships.

A still further governmental commentary on foreign student policy is to be found in the March 1987 Report of the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance dealing with *Federal Policy on Post-Secondary Education*. Concluding that foreign student fee differentials are not wrong, the report endorses the Joint Committee's recommendation that the two levels of government need to harmonize their foreign student policies and recommends some specific federal government actions regarding foreign student policy that can be taken independent of the provinces.

Although no national statement on foreign student policy has as yet appeared in Canada, some specific actions have been taken to create a more favorable climate for the recruitment and retention of students from overseas. CIDA scholarships are to double by 1993. Immigration requirements have been relaxed to allow students to be employed in on-campus jobs during their studies and to accept employment in fields directly related to their studies for up to one year following completion of their degree. Spouses, too, may work, and working students and spouses, who must pay government pension and unemployment taxes, can be considered for unemployment benefits on a case-by-case basis. Additionally, the government has provided funding for a documentary film on international students in Canada, a belated response, it would seem, to the original CTV film of almost a decade ago.

The government is also upgrading its overseas recruitment efforts and greatly increasing its contribution to training programs for students from developing countries, both in Canada and abroad. Additionally, it has recently created an Interdepartmental Committee on Foreign Student Policy, under the leadership of the Department of External Affairs, to coordinate its emerging policies and activities.

Despite these recent changes, dissatisfaction continues to exist with the extent and effectiveness of government policies. Arguing, as it has now for almost a decade, that Canada is losing out in the international competition for foreign students, CBIE complains that:

> We continue to talk ourselves into inaction. Talk among the provinces on the differential fee continues to be stalemated. We are now seeing a patchwork of provincial subsidies brought in to soften the differential fee, but no concerted fee, nor any cohesive policy.
>
> Nobody seems to know who should be responsible for the marketing of our education overseas, but there is lots of talk. Meanwhile millions of dollars of educational contracts are slipping into the hands of other countries.[38]

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

III. Enrollments and Enrollment Trends

Until 1984, the experience of foreign student enrollments in Canada followed pretty much the same rising pattern seen elsewhere in the world: negligible numbers of foreign students before War II, slow increases between 1945 and 1960, and then a tripling of numbers between 1960 and 1970. By the early 1970s, the number of foreign students in Canada for the first time surpassed the number of Canadians studying abroad. Combined with the desire to limit what had begun to seem like excessive immigration, Canada began to place limits on foreign student entry slightly earlier than its European counterparts. In 1973 foreign students were debarred from applying for "landed immigrant" status, and they were also, at about the same time, deprived of the right to work either full- or part-time, except under narrowly defined circumstances. The enrollment of foreign students for the year 1973-1974 showed a drop of almost 25%. But that loss was recouped in the following year and the rise upward proceeded until the late 1970s, when Ontario, Alberta, and then Quebec and the Maritime Provinces imposed differential tuition fees. Currently seven of the ten Canadian provinces impose differential fees that range from 50% to 1000% of the domestic tuition costs. In some province, these differential fees are at least partly designed to restrain the flow of foreign students. These higher revenues are also valuable as cost-recovery measures in a period of budget stringency.

Some of the minor fluctuations and diminutions in foreign student numbers in the early 1980s can also probably be traced to the increase in differential fees, especially in Ontario and Quebec, which have always attracted the greatest numbers of students. From 1975 through 1984, however, the overall enrollment of full-time foreign university students moved generally upward, despite the fees. Foreign student enrollments in 1983-84 were 43% higher than they had been in 1975-76 and 25% higher than they had been only three years previously in 1980-81.

A cessation of growth in 1983-84 heralded what now appears to be an almost equally steep and sudden decline in numbers. Total post-secondary enrollments in 1987-88 were 37,100—approximately 24% lower than those for the peak period three years before and continuing to head downward in the university sector. Much of the current concern over developing a national policy on foreign students and a national educational presence abroad arises from these apparently dwindling numbers.

While the loss of one-quarter of Canada's foreign students in a three-year period is often attributed to the imposition of differential fees, this argument is contested by the rising trend of the preceding decade, when some differential fees were already in effect, and by the lack of a straightforward correlation between enrollments and fees. Studies show that foreign students are unable to distinguish between the fee policies of different provinces. The mistaken belief that all parts of Canada charge differential fees may explain why even provinces without such fees have been losing enrollments lately.

Another partial explanation for the recent collapse of foreign student enrollments in Canada is based on the global flow of students. Looking at Canada in world perspective, it may well be that the seemingly dramatic drop in university enrollments during the past three years really reflects a fall-off from an artificial inflation of the Canadian market in the preceding period. It can be argued that Great Britain's imposition of full-cost fees in 1979 and her subsequent decline in foreign student numbers led some students to go elsewhere. The nearly 50% jump in Malaysian numbers between 1980-81 and 1981-82 would seem to support such an argument, as would the more modest increases in students from Hong Kong and Singapore. Malaysia, it will be remembered, is the nation that boycotted British higher education after the imposition of that country's full-fee regimen. Canada's seemingly devastating reductions in university enrollment should thus in part be seen as a decline from what may have been an artificially induced peak. Australia and Japan may also be siphoning off some prospective Asian enrollees.

The most important reason for the drop-off in numbers is probably overall cost. According to CBIE:

> A year of education in Canada for an international student can run as high as $25,000, including tuition, cost of living, medical insurance, clothing, transportation, and books and research materials. Compared to other countries, some of which charge no tuition and have milder climates, where it is relatively inexpensive to live, Canada may be just too pricy.[39]

CBIE's analysis may, indeed, be correct. According to its analyses, Canada ranks with the other major English-speaking countries as having some of the highest fees for foreign and domestic students anywhere in the world.

TUITION FEES (C$)

Canada	$1,458—$ 9,000
U.S.A.	$3,000—$12,000
U.K.	$7,700—$10,100
Australia	$6,000—$ 8,000
France	—$ 90
Germany	No fees

Given the similar British enrollment decline when full fees were imposed, it may be that the Canadian fee structure is similarly discouraging undergraduate enrollments, especially in the absence of widespread compensatory scholarship programs. Graduate programs—not available in many students' home countries and often supported through teaching and research assistantships—are in Canada, as in Great Britain, a far better buy.

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Despite the recent drop in numbers, the percentage of foreign students in Canada is still high by global standards. In 1987-88, they represented 4.8% of total higher educational enrollments, placing Canada in the same category as Great Britain, Germany, and Australia.

Enrollment by Country of Origin: Canada draws her students from a limited number of sources. As previously mentioned, the five leading countries of origin for foreign students were:

Hong Kong (22.5%)
United States (10.0%)
People's Republic of China (7.3%)
Malaysia (4.8%)
Singapore (4.2%)

Broader groupings reveal the following sending pattern: the remainder of Asia (17%), Africa (15%), Europe (12%), the Americas other than the United States (9%), and Oceania (1%). Japan, Canada's second-largest trading partner after the United States, had fewer than 200 students enrolled in 1988, and the Soviet Union had only two.

This "lack of diversification" in markets has made Canada especially vulnerable to sudden shifts in enrollment. With half of the foreign students in Canada coming from South and East Asia, and almost a quarter of them from one nation alone, Canada has little buffering against changes in other countries' policies or shifts in foreign student preferences. A 75% drop in the number of Malaysian students after a 1982-83 peak accounts for half of Canada's losses. Sudden drops in enrollments from any of the handful of other leading countries, especially from China, could be damaging, indeed.

Equally as grave a concern is the relative absence of foreign students from the least-developed countries. According to 1987-88 data, fewer than a thousand foreign university students in Canada (834 to be exact) came from the 31 least developed countries in the world as defined by the United Nations in 1986. One third of these countries had fewer than 10 students enrolled in Canadian universities. Despite some recent efforts by CIDA to increase the number of students from the poorest countries, 1988 enrollment from the least developed countries is only 0.3% higher than the comparable figure for 1980. With falling enrollments from Africa and the Middle East, Canada also manifests to some degree the worldwide foreign student trend away from the developing countries.

Enrollment by Level: In looking at enrollments by level, it should be recognized that university enrollments in Canada do not include community colleges and other post-secondary non-university programs. The 7884 foreign students enrolled in such institutions currently constitute approximately 27% of all foreign students in Canada. While their numbers have not quite regained their 1975-76 level, these enrollments have shown a rising trend in recent years and actually grew by 13.3% between 1986-87 and 1987-88. As elsewhere, this increase may reflect a trend toward more practical curricula on the part of foreign students and probably a more aggressive recruitment stance by the institutions themselves. In the larger cities a sizable proportion of these students are enrolled only part-time, probably because such metropolitan centers offer job opportunities.

As in Great Britain, the heaviest losses in international enrollments have been those at the baccalaureate level, which are now showing a catastrophic 60% decline since 1983-84. Master's level enrollments have also dropped, although far less spectacularly. Enrollments at the master's level are now within 2-3% of their previous peak.

Doctoral enrollments have, by contrast been rising throughout the decade and are now almost 50% above 1980 levels. The numbers of doctoral students are still relatively small, however. In 1988 they totalled 3643, and the increase that has occurred chiefly reflects an increase in the number of Chinese students choosing to pursue their graduate work in Canada at a limited number of Canadian universities.

The growth at the doctoral level does reflect some limited government and university policy initiatives in encouraging graduate study. British Columbia, for example, charges no differential tuition for graduate students. It may also reflect foreign governments' emphasis on graduate rather than undergraduate training, the students' own preferences to invest their money in levels of education less likely to be available in their home country, combined with the financial support available through graduate fellowships and teaching assistantships.

With the growth in graduate students, however, have come some other familiar concerns. Graduate students tend to be concentrated in graduate professional faculties, such as engineering. Indeed, in certain departments, they are said to comprise the entire student body. Overall, international students constituted 23.9% of total doctoral enrollments, reflecting a shortage of Canadian graduate students in many areas and a repetition of the phenomenon seen in a number of other major industrialized countries where many graduate programs have become heavily dependent on foreign enrollments.

Distribution by Discipline: In 1987-88, as in previous years, the leading fields of interest for full-time foreign university students in Canada were commerce, management, business administration, and economics (20%), computer science and mathematics (10.7%), and electrical engineering (5.0%). The largest field of enrollments in the colleges is engineering and the applied sciences, with more than one-third of the all foreign student enrolled in those institutions. These data confirm the strong tendencies toward commercial and technological curricula seen in most of the other major receiving countries as well.

Geographic Distribution of Students: By far the largest percentage of foreign students are to be found in Ontario. Although Ontario's share of the foreign student market has been falling in recent years, that province still enrolls 37.7% of all foreign students in Canada in 1987-88. Québec, with its strong ties to French institutions, ranks second with 21.9%. The Prairie Provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta) enroll 22.0%; the Atlantic Provinces (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) enroll 7.5%; and British Columbia enrolls 8.7%.

The universities likewise vary considerably in the numbers and proportions of foreign students they enroll, as well as in the levels and programs such students enroll in. The University of Toronto has the highest number of full-time international students in Canada, while York and McGill respectively head the lists of bachelor's and masters students. These universities largely attract foreign students into their management schools. Simon Fraser University, in British Columbia, on the other hand enrolls more than 40% of its overseas students in non-degree programs.

Personal Characteristics and Data: One of the fortunate results of increased governmental interest in foreign students during the past year or two has been the support provided by the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada for a foreign student survey conducted under the auspices of CBIE. This excellent 1988 report provides an interesting series of conclusions and commentaries on the experience of 1600 foreign students in Canada. Many of the report's findings are applicable to other countries as well.

The CBIE survey begins with a series of "Highlights" that are worth quoting in their entirety:

> • International students come to study in Canada mainly because of limited opportunity for university study in their home country.
>
> • They chose Canadian universities mainly because of the quality of its educational system.

• A substantial number of students report difficulties with Canadian immigration officials both in their home country and at the point of entry.

• Two-thirds of the students were met at their airport, but only 39% were met on arrival at their university.

• Less than half (43%) of international students attended orientation sessions; 38% of those found them useful.

• The students who find their way into Canadian schools are relatively well-off. Their chief sources of income are their parents or relatives.

• The average international student spent roughly $11,000 in Canada in 1987-88.

• Work restrictions are a major concern of international students. The new regulations permitting students to work on campus and after graduation are seen as having limited positive impact.

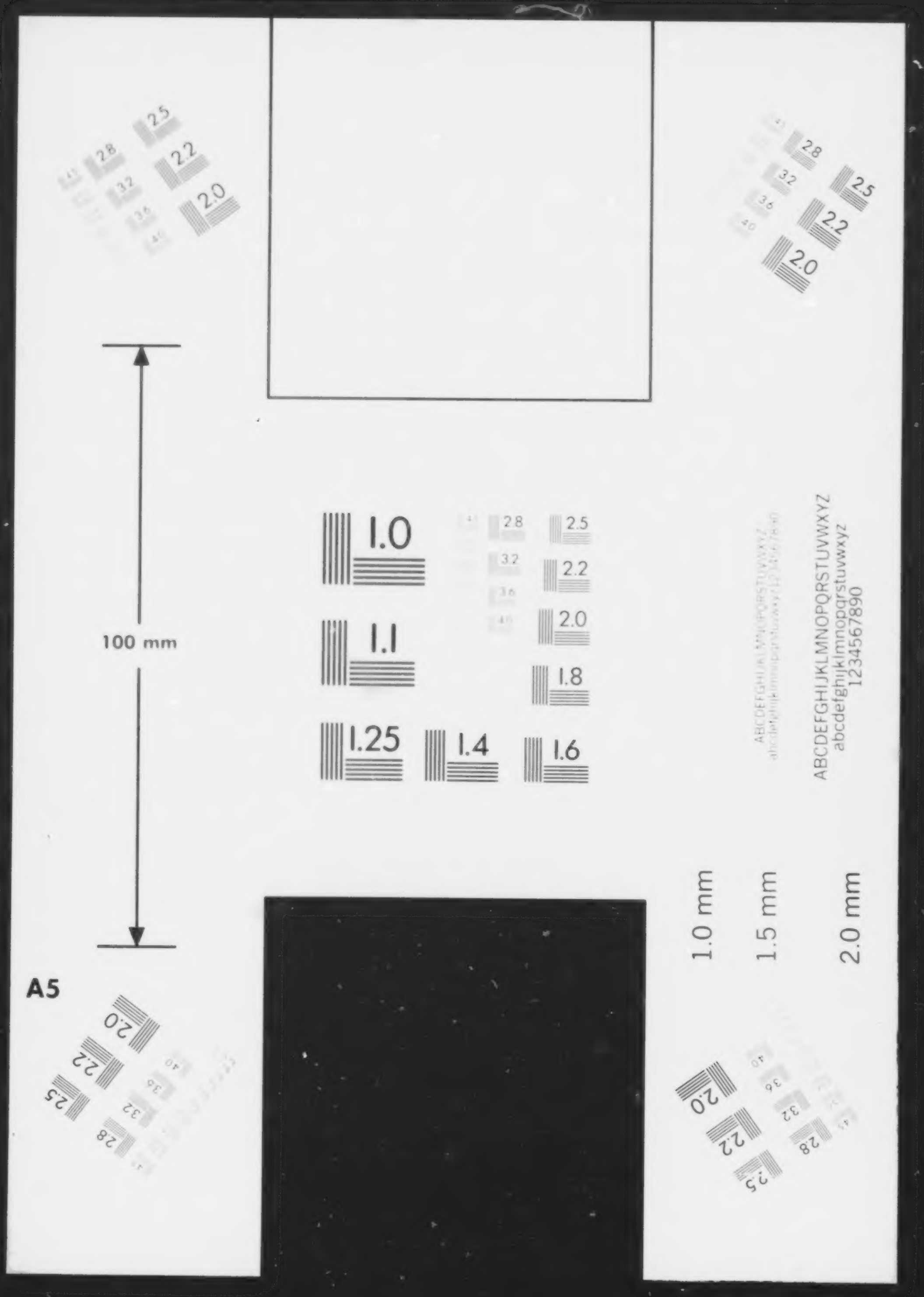
• High tuition fees are also an important concern.

• Less than 12% indicated an intention to apply for permanent resident status in Canada.

• 70% of international students rate their experiences in Canada favorably.

The discussion of family income and background indicates quite plainly that it is the more affluent student from the more affluent country who comes to Canada. 25% of the international students in the sample had fathers with a university degree, and 13% had mothers with a university degree. Fifteen percent of students' fathers had studied abroad, 5% of students' mothers. Twenty-four percent of the sample identified their families as either "one of the wealthiest" in their home country or "considerably better off than the average family." Their own decision to study abroad was based on such factors as "the higher quality of education in other countries" (very important or important, 62%), the "unavailability of a desired academic program in the student's home country" (very important or important, 48%), the "availability of scholarships to study abroad" (very important or important, 41%), the prestige of a foreign degree (very important or important, 58%, but with the preponderant ranking only at the "important" level).

Financial issues also surfaced in the decision to study in Canada rather than other foreign countries. The comparative cost of a Canadian education, the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availability of scholarships at Canadian universities, and the availability of other sources of financial support were all ranked as important by students, with the financial issues understandably most important for students from the developing countries. Program availability and the availability of instruction in English were also significant.

CBIE as an organization is highly conscious of the importance of education for female students, especially those from developing countries, where male-dominated educational patterns give women less access to education at all levels, even though the improvement of women's educational opportunities is a key factor in breaking stagnating socio-economic patterns. The CBIE survey thus pays particular attention to women, noting, not unexpectedly, that female foreign students come from wealthier countries and wealthier backgrounds, that they comprise 40% of the student body at the baccalaureate level but are significantly underrepresented at the graduate level and in technical and commercial programs. The proportion of women has been rising, however, and was 34.7% of the total number of full-time foreign university students in 1987-88.[40]

A final contribution that CBIE has made to an understanding of foreign students in Canada is an analysis of their academic performance. Their findings are very positive: more than three-quarters of Canadian foreign students have averages of A or B; only 3% are doing failing work. In view of the many myths about foreign students, this topic deserves more study both in Canada and elsewhere.[41]

IV. Policies and Practices

Owing to the "balkanization" of responsibility for foreign students and the absence of national direction and organization, policies and procedures in regard to foreign students tend to be more rather *ad hoc* and fragmentary than in most other receiving countries, although some efforts are being made at the national level to give greater cohesion to Canada's efforts. The area of federal-provincial relationships is a sensitive one, however, and progress has been both slow and tentative. Some observers believe that national intervention is not needed, simply greater coordination.

Recruitment: Anxiety exists at the national level that Canada is losing out, not only in the absolute number of foreign students, but in the international competition for the best and brightest minds. Indeed, one observer believes that universities are now more concerned with the quality of the foreign students they are attracting at the graduate level than with the decline in undergraduate numbers.[42] The national response to the problem of declining numbers has been limited, as we have seen, but it does include an increase in the number of CIDA-sponsored students from abroad; expanded global marketing of Canadian colleges and universities and educational services, such as training and research projects, through the Ministry of External Affairs; and more positive immigration and employment policies aimed both at recruitment and retention. Although not directed at recruitment itself, probably the most important of these changed policies in encouraging future enrollments are the new regulations that allow foreign students and their spouses to work in Canada.

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[40] John DeVries and Stephen Richer, *The 1988 Survey of International Students in Canadian Universities*, Department of the Secretary of State, Canada, and Canadian Bureau of International Education, November, 1988, Statistics Canada Registration Number SSC/ESP-005-02959, *passim.*

[41] *Ibid., passim.*

On the provincial level, the Government of Ontario has established a $C5 million fund to reduce tuition fees for 1000 highly qualified foreign graduate students and has also expanded criteria for exemption from differential fee payments for various categories of students. The Province of Québec is continuing its extensive programs of bilateral agreements providing scholarships for students from the francophone nations. These alliances between Québec and approximately 40 francophone countries parallel more general relationships between the Canadian provinces and the 48 Commonwealth countries. Ontario and Québec are also active in development aid projects with training components. The entire field of contractual educational relationships is said to be burgeoning rapidly.[43]

Admissions: Academic criteria for the admission of foreign students are set by the individual universities, whose "principal concern" is said to be "to maintain access for qualified Canadian students." Individual campuses may set quotas for specific disciplines, such as medicine, for example, where it is almost impossible for a foreign student to gain access to a Canadian program. Admissions standards thus vary considerably from institution to institution and program to program. Similar variability exists in language requirements. Most campuses require TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) scores of 560 to 610 (and comparable levels of achievement in French) prior to matriculation. The question of "absorptive capacity"—the extent to which Canadian universities and colleges can accept foreign students—continues to be taken seriously. Despite the falling numbers, part of the delay in fashioning an assertive foreign student policy is said to be uncertainty over the potential conflict between foreign and Canadian students for university places.

In regard to immigration policies as they apply to foreign students, the Canadian Department of Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) sees itself as merely administering the requirements explicitly or implicitly set by the universities and the provinces in the light of overall Canadian policies. Following the national standards for visitors, it will validate the prospective student's status as a *bona fide* visitor, will request assurances of adequate funding for the duration of the stay, will conduct a health check, and may conduct a security check. As previously noted, CEIC has recently modified its regulations to increase work opportunities for both students and their spouses. The possibility of income from employment will not, however, be counted as part of the student's potential funding capacity when applying for entrance.

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[42] George Tillman, *International Seminar on Higher Education and the Flow of Foreign Students: Foreign Students and Internationalisation of Higher Education*, Country Report—Canada, Prepared for the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, July 1988, p. 3.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Student Welfare Provisions: Most Canadian institutions are said to have an international student adviser on staff, with an average foreign student to staff ratio of 150:1; and some institutions, such as the University of Alberta and the University of Toronto, have been reviewing their policies recently in the light of foreign student needs. The primary nationwide agency for coordinating student welfare activities is CBIE, which has both an advocacy and a practical role. Students seeking information on Canadian educational opportunities probably find CBIE's *Going to Canada to Study: A practical guide for international students* the best available guide on the topic; and tens of thousands of incoming foreign students over the years have been greeted at Toronto, Ottawa, and Vancouver airports by CBIE representatives stationed there to facilitate the students' introduction to Canadian life. CBIE serves as one of several non-governmental agencies under contract to CIDA to provide specific advisory and support services for CIDA-sponsored scholars.

As shown by the new *Survey of International Students*, Canada, like most other major receiving countries, is beginning to ask questions about the quality of the foreign students' experience and the overall impression they take home from Canada.

Curriculum: A few exemplary programs, such as one at Trent University, bring foreign and Canadian students together in seminars designed to promote mutual understanding, and other universities have international or development studies program which can take into account the presence of foreign students. As a general rule, there are no special degrees for foreign students, who are thought to be seeking the standard Canadian qualification. However, specific courses, particularly at the graduate level, may be modified to meet foreign students' needs and community colleges are more and more often offering special technical training programs students from abroad.

Student Response: Still another interesting finding of the recent survey of foreign students is the discovery that the first week—indeed, the first day—in the receiving country is important in shaping future attitudes toward foreign study. Not surprisingly, given other studies, loneliness and a sense of isolation ranked high among the students' sources of anxiety, and more than half found "making friends with Canadians" either a "big problem" or "somewhat of a problem." About 10% of the students ranked speaking and writing English as a "big problem." Often foreign students were unaware of the welfare services that existed to help them and did not use them. When used, such services were, in fact, generally ranked as helpful. Money matters cropped up for large numbers of students as a major concern, if not the major concern.

As in other countries, a relatively small number—about 12%—said that they planned to apply for permanent resident status in Canada after they completed their studies, but a very large number planned to continue their studies through subsequent degree levels. Asked about problems of reentry, 55% of foreign students thought finding a job in their home country would be a "big problem" or "somewhat of a problem"; 31% had a similar reaction to participating in a political system quite different from Canada's; and 37% thought it would be very or somewhat difficult to adapt to a different standard of living.

Follow-Up Studies: The Department of the Secretary of State is just completing the first of a planned series of follow-up studies on foreign students in Canada. Returning German students were chosen for this first study, which was conducted in conjunction with the University of Augsburg.

V. Costs and Expenditures

As in other countries charging a differential fee for foreign students, the question of cost benefits has been extensively discussed in Canada. International students have been said to contribute as much as $C400 million a year through their spending on such goods and services as food, clothing, shelter, travel, and entertainment and through the multiplier effects of their expenditures. International students are also said to generate as many as 4500 jobs.[44] Canadian estimates of roughly $C11,000 a year per capita expenditures by students from abroad are part of the argument on behalf of foreign students as "tourists" that is also made in Great Britain and Australia.

The cost of foreign student support to the Canadian government has been estimated at approximately $C60 million in 1986. But this extraordinarily favorable ratio of costs to benefits has been rejected by the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance as "an oversimplification." It is difficult to compile meaningful statistics in a country where foreign student costs vary significantly from province to province.

Scholarship and Aid Programs: A handsome publication by the Canadian International Development Agency gives a thoughtful presentation of current Canadian policies in regard to development. The agency proposes to double the Canadian scholarship programs for foreign students during the next five years to reach an annual level of 12,000 students and trainees by 1992. Approximately half of the scholarships will be for training in Canada (much of it for short courses rather than degree programs); the remainder of the scholarships will be for training in the student's country of origin or in other developing nations. Priority for training in Canada will go to graduate students and those taking short-term specialized courses. Scholarships will be linked, on the one hand, to institutional capacities and, on the other hand, to labor market needs in developing lands. CIDA also sponsors the International Development Research Centre (IRDC), which focusses on a variety of development issues, and is encouraging Canadian universities to establish "centers of excellence" on important issues and regions in the developing world. Several such centers have already been established.

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[44] Canadian Bureau for International Education, *Closing the Doors: A Statistical Report on International Students in Canada*, Ottawa, 1986, ii.

Subsidized Costs: It is extremely difficult to estimate the total cost of foreign student subsidies in Canada. University budgets are comprised of both federal and provincial funds and each province, as we have seen, has a different fee policy for students from abroad. Additionally, the two largest provinces of Ontario and Québec have many special agreements, scholarships, and exemptions for foreign students, making the calculation impossible. It should be noted that the universities seldom have a direct cash benefit from the enrollment of foreign students as in Britain and Australia, since the revenues they receive go into general coffers for redistribution within the total education budget. For this reason, very likely, one does not hear of the same vigorous overseas recruitment by individual Canadian universities that so sharply marks the British and Australian educational scene. Community colleges, on the other hand, may keep their revenues. Their overseas activities, which often involve educational contracts with foreign governments, are said to be of an unknown extent and to be increasing rapidly.

VI. Issues and Arguments

The fundamental question for foreign student policy in Canada is twofold: what is the balance between federal and provincial jurisdiction and what is the "right mix" of foreign students—by country of origin, by level of study, by discipline, by geographic distribution within Canada, and by gender. On the first issue Canada seem gradually to be moving toward an uneasy truce, with a consensus that a national policy statement must be forthcoming and with piecemeal actions by External Affairs, CEIC, and CIDA that all contribute toward a more positive atmosphere for foreign student enrollment and development aid. Like Australia, Canada has come to realize that she has educational services to market abroad and at home and is beginning to take more assertive steps to do so.

The more enduring issue continues to be that of "mix" or "balance." The extreme disproportion of students from a few wealthy or relatively wealthy nations and the minuscule number of students from least-developed countries is understandably worrisome. Resources, it is argued, are being applied to those who may not need them, while those students and nations in greatest need remain unassisted. Differential fees are as impartial as rain; they fall on rich and poor alike!

Canada is also focussing attention on educational issues for foreign students. More so than most major receiving countries, Canada appears sensitive to the issue of student interaction. Both CBIE and AUCC (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada) have been looking into the contacts between foreign and domestic students and how students can learn from each other. "Surely," says one significant report, "the most immediate and important reason for receiving foreign students is the tremendous potential educational value of their presence."[45] Commenting on the importance of counteracting Canadian insularity, the report goes on to state that:

> It may not be possible for all Canadian students to see many other countries at first hand. But it should be possible for many Canadian students to learn from personal contact about other countries, other cultures, and other ways of doing and seeing thing. In this process, they may often find that the subject about which they learn the most will be themselves and their own society. The presence of foreign students, bringing with them their different heritages and perspectives, provides an opportunity for Canadians to broaden their outlook and to enlarge their knowledge of themselves and others...Foreign students can play a key role, in particular, in the opening up and maintenance of Canada's links with the international scholarly and professional communities. Their presence is in itself an expression of the international character of knowledge and of the university.[46]

The goals of such interaction, the report further states, depend on interpersonal communication among students and cannot be achieved without a reasonable dispersal of foreign students across Canadian institutions, rather than in large aggregations at a small number of universities. It can probably also not be achieved where groupings of students from a single nationality are so great that these students can primarily interact within their own transplanted communities rather than mingling with the encompassing Canadian culture. The 1988 CBIE report on foreign students in Canada reiterates the theme classically: "The lack of an international presence in institutions which are preparing students for a role in an interdependent world is a serious deficiency in the education of our youth"—a point echoed by the Canadian Federation of Students and the Canadian Association of Colleges and University Teachers, who continue to call for more international students on their campuses.

VII. Conclusion

Canada comes to international education with three advantages. It is a leader within the Commonwealth, where it is the largest donor of aid. It is politically neutral, having never been a colonial power. And it has an strong higher educational system. Both for these strengths and also its weaknesses, it is in many ways an exemplary nation with which to conclude this study since it exhibits many of the themes we have seen, sometimes in an exaggerated form.

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[45] Thomas H.B. Symons and James E. Page, *Some Questions of Balance: Human Resources, Higher Education, and Canadian Studies,* To Know Ourselves: The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies, Ottawa, 1984, p. 221.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

Its disadvantages are largely self-generated. Canada has not produced a coherent foreign student policy up to now; its system of differential tuitions, as developed by the provinces, is actually a strong disincentive to undergraduate students and, were it not for the swelling Chinese student enrollments, would also inhibit growth at the graduate level.

Like the other major industrialized countries, Canada is becoming dependent on foreign graduate students to maintain her doctoral programs. One hears little of the value of foreign student research in Canada, but it is clear that a number of graduate programs would fold if it were not for enrollments from overseas.

While Canada is showing leadership in some aspects of her development aid programs, actual enrollments of students from developing countries have been following the same trend we have observed in most of the other major receiving countries. Canada has a few model programs for promoting interaction between international and domestic students, but enclaves and separatism appear to be the norm. Despite her positive immigration policies as an "underpopulated" country, many Canadians are still somewhat fearful of foreign students as potential immigrants, although the restrictions appear to be lightening. (Canadian organizations, like CBIE, do not support the immigration of foreign students because of the loss of benefits both to the host and sender nation if students do not return to their home countries.) Like Australia, like the United States, and, to a lesser degree, like all the countries I visited, Canada is becoming less homogeneous and more multicultural, especially in its major cities and universities. Foreign students obviously increase the statistical heterogeneity of a country. But they do more than that. They are also part of the cultural and intellectual fabric of a nation, part of its research and teaching effort, part of its ability to understand people and cultures from others parts of the globe. They are not simply future business partners and diplomatic allies. Rightly fostered and rightly understood, they can also be ambassadors to a technologically complex and culturally interconnected future.

7. CHOICES, CHANGES, CHALLENGES[1]

I. Choices

The underlying story in all the preceding chapters but one has been basically similar: a restriction of foreign student flow at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s followed by much more welcoming policies in recent years. With the exception of Japan, which until lately had only nominal enrollments of foreign students, all the other major host countries began the past decade with policies seeking to constrict the flow of foreign students, who were perceived as becoming too numerous. The methodologies for constriction differed: full-cost fees in Great Britain, admissions requirements in France, visa regulations in Germany, quotas and fees in Australia, and differential provincial tuitions in Canada. But the motivations were always much the same. The flow of foreign students was perceived as getting out of hand. The cost of their education, their perceived rivalry for limited university spaces, their potential competitiveness in a declining job market, their racial and ethnic differences from the general population, their lumpy geographic distribution within the host country, and their inevitable involvement in broader issues of immigration, were all cause for concern.

The similarity and rapidity of the reversals of these restrictive policies have also been remarkable. Turned away as too many at the start of the 1980s, foreign students are now being actively sought after as we approach the end of that decade. Some of the reasons for these more affirmative government policies are political. They include overt diplomatic pressures from foreign governments (as exemplified by the reactions to Britain's full-cost policy) or specific foreign government requests for assistance (as are reported to have been made to Japan by several Asian nations). There is no question that admissions and scholarship programs for foreign students are diplomatically useful in creating a general ambiance of good will. The most persistent influences, however, are the economic ones. Foreign students are good business and are good for business. The revenues they generate as students and as "tourists" are helpful to the universities and to the economy at large. And foreign students are also perceived to be good future customers.

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[1] This chapter represents an extensive revision of a speech given at the 41st Annual Conference of the National Associate for Foreign Student Affairs (June 2, 1989, Minneapolis-St. Paul) and opening remarks at the conference of Foreign Student Policies of the Major Host Countries, Sponsored by the Institute of International Education in association with the Educational Testing Service (June 4, 1989, Henry Chauncey Center, Princeton, New Jersey). The conference report is included as Appendix A for this study.

It would be unfair to brand government or university policy choices in regard to foreign students as purely commercial. A continuing substratum in foreign student policy at all levels has been the historic and traditional ties among certain nations, expecially between the major receiving countries and their former colonies and dependencies. Humanitarian motives, a concern for less developed nations, as well as deep-seated philosophical commitments to the universality of knowledge and education, have not simply disappeared. But they are currently taking second place to more pragmatic justifications for foreign student policies.

II. Changes

The major movement toward more affirmative foreign student policies has been accompanied by a number of different shifts and changes in student flow. Patterns of origin and destination have shifted, enrollments by level have moved markedly toward graduate study, and the industrialized nations are now competing actively for talent. Student decisions about their courses of study have become more pragmatic, as, indeed, has the whole context of foreign student policy and decision-making. As evident from the emerging patterns of enrollments and exchanges, the results of all these changes have often been more favorable to north-north than north-south relationships. Many of these changes have not been deliberately sought; they have been the result of powerful economic and social changes that transcend the specifics of policy making with regard to foreign students. But most of the changes summarized below reflect the interaction of larger forces and deliberate government and institution shifts.

Destinations: As part of the general shift in the balance of world economic and political power, Asia is beginning to become not only the major source of foreign student outflow to other countries, but also a destination in itself. No longer peripheral to the educational world, Japan and Australia have now become major receivers of foreign students. Japan's announcement in 1984 that it expected to enroll 100,000 foreign students by the year 2000 is a bold symbol both of Japan's emergence as a potential educational superpower and of the heightened value of foreign students as educational coin of the realm. Although Japan's and Australia's current *combined* foreign student enrollments are only now beginning to exceed those of Canada, the fourth-ranking nation of the six we have studied, the portents for the future are clear. Barring new changes in direction, both nations promise to become significant international players within their region and, to a lesser degree, outside their region as well. European and American hegemony in higher education have not ended by any means, but they are beginning to be challenged by the East.

Origins: The high cost of university education and the high cost of living in many of the industrialized countries, combined with deteriorating finances in many developing countries, are increasingly changing the mix of foreign students. Student numbers from the wealthier countries are rising. Student numbers from the developing countries are falling. Free-tuition France, with 78% of its 124,000 foreign students from developing countries, is the sole exception to this rule. Canada is at the other extreme, with fewer than 1000 of its foreign students from any of the 31 poorest countries in the world, and the Canadian experience is more typical. Despite some mitigating scholarship schemes on behalf of students from least developed countries, a general decline of students from the "Poorest 50" is a disturbing worldwide phenomenon.

Profiles: Not only are foreign students coming from relatively affluent countries, what we know at least of the privately sponsored students tells us they also come from relatively affluent families. Their parents, or more accurately, their fathers, are businessmen, professionals, and government officials, many of them college graduates themselves and even graduates of foreign universities. Apart from the over-all rise in female enrollment, usually at the undergraduate levels, the current generation of foreign students is to a large extent a somewhat wealthier cloning of previous generations. It is appropriate to note, moreover, that female students tend to come from higher socioeconomic backgrounds than male students.

Experiences: We have learned a great deal in the past five years or so about foreign students' attitudes toward their experiences. All of the countries I visited last year had either mounted extensive studies of their foreign students or, at the very least, begun to consider formally the difficulties such students faced. As a German report put it, foreign students face a multiplicity of difficulties stemming from the absence of familial ties, the pressure of limited finances, the need to adapt to very different educational and social systems, and the "social stereotyping by outsiders due to the color of their skin, nationality and religion." Only a "relatively stable personality," the document states, can survive a "double culture shock": the initial adaptation to the foreign culture and then the almost equally difficult transition upon return.

Support Services: In view of the personal difficulties that many foreign students face, the increased attention we are seeing to foreign student acclimatization and comfort marks a very welcome change, whatever its underlying motivations. If foreign students are perceived as paying customers rather than objects of philanthropy and if they are potential allies and purchasers, it is important from the perspective of government policy that their overseas experiences be successful ones. The genuine personal desire of many faculty and academic staff to help students overcome loneliness, financial worry, and possible academic failure has recently been strengthened by an equally genuine governmental desire to avoid having academic, financial, and psychological failures on the national doorstep, so to speak. There has thus been a dramatic improvement of supportive services for foreign students in the past half dozen years or so. These support services now increasingly start before arrival, with better advising, better recruitment, better financial advice and screening, and better language training. They also include such elements as the preparatory programs provided by France and Germany to aid in language study and basic academic studies and a proliferation of foreign student advising offices on university campuses. Still far less developed than what most foreign students are accustomed to in the United States, what the Australians call the "one-stop advising shop" has become far more common in Europe and Asia than ever before.

Graduate Enrollments: Among the profoundest changes in recent years has been the rising popularity of graduate study. On the part of the students themselves, this increased interest in advanced rather than baccalaureate work is the result of several converging factors: the increasing availability of undergraduate education in many newly industrialized countries; the high cost of study abroad, which makes undergraduate education at home (or close to home) more financially desirable; and, most of all, the importance of graduate education for future employment in a technologically advanced global economy. Whether they return home or remain abroad, students with advanced degrees have a clear edge in the job market. And they know it.

But the interest in graduate education is two-sided. The surge of aspiring graduate students from the sending countries is matched by an equally keen interest in the receiving countries. As shown by governmental admissions policies and scholarship policies, most of the major receiving countries are trying to recruit graduate rather than undergraduate students, particularly students at the doctoral level. As always, the motivations are multiple. Graduate students are presumed to be less trouble because they have been pre-screened. They are also less expensive because they can contribute to their own support through the value of their research or teaching assistantships. In several of the most advanced technological countries, foreign students are also becoming invaluable in sustaining otherwise non-viable graduate programs. The picture in the United States where large numbers of doctoral programs, especially in engineering and the sciences, would collapse tomorrow were it not for their foreign students is familiar to everyone. But the problem is not exclusive to America. In Great Britain, almost two-thirds of all graduate students in business and management and more than one-half of all graduate students in engineering and technology are foreign students. In France, foreign students participate in graduate studies at double the rate of French nationals. In Canada, foreign students are about one-quarter of all graduate students. Even in Japan, which is usually viewed as immune to such problems, the concentration of foreign graduate students in science and engineering is a source of astonishment: 43% at the Tokyo Institute of Technology, 42% at Kyushu University, 38% at Nagoya

University, and 28% at Tokyo University.

Enrollments by Discipline: A recurrent theme of this study has been the continuing emphasis on pragmatic areas of study. Science and engineering are usually the leading areas of enrollment, closely matched in most of the receiving countries by high levels of enrollment in administration and management studies. Only in France do literary and cultural subjects lead and even in France, science and medicine combined now equal enrollments in literature. In the choice of field as in the level of study, student preferences and government priorities converge since increasing needs for technological and managerial personnel mark both the developing and the developed world.

Competition for Talent: One of the most dramatic recent examples of the importance of foreign students to graduate education and hence to the development of faculty is to be seen in Australia. Acknowledging a critical shortage of up to 12,000 academics over the next six years, a recent commission report in that country recommends assisting Australian universities to recruit and employ more foreign graduate students as one way of easing the teacher shortage. Australia's newly developed scholarship scheme for graduate students from the industrialized countries is clearly complementary to such efforts.

While the Australian efforts seem totally benign—a relatively underpopulated nation seeking to expand and internationalize its talent pool—the long-range effect of such efforts by the larger industrialized countries to attract the "best brains" to their universities and laboratories may be quite damaging to less developed nations. The polite term for such activities is the "migration of talent." The more realistic term may be "brain drain." The appendix to this study includes some telling comments by representatives of some less-developed nations in regard to their concerns. Some densely populated developing countries may indeed see an advantage in having the surplus of engineers and scientist work in the developed countries, where, it is believed, they can serve as conduits for both technological expertise and actual trade contracts. But such relationships are not usually perceived to be so symbiotic. As the developing nations expand their higher educational systems and their technologies, they badly needed students trained in the world's leading universities to direct their own higher educational development and to contribute toward their economic advancement.

Commercialization: The competition for talent is one dimension of the increasing connection between foreign student policy and economic thrusts. Underlying that competition is an even more fundamental change: the commercialization of international student mobility, i.e., the emergence of the foreign student trade. Countries with no tuition, such as France and Germany, have little to gain from a revenue perspective from expanding their numbers of foreign students. But for countries which do charge tuition to their college students, foreign students can be a powerful revenue source. The revenues from tuition go very plainly into college and university coffer—one reason that foreign student recruitment programs are flourishing everywhere, as are other educational schemes for training programs and development assistance that combine academic goals with money-making activities.

Governments, too, see foreign students as money-makers. In their economic lexicon, foreign students have become part of the tourist trade. British experts argue that foreign student expenditures in Britain constitute one-sixth of Britain's £ 6 billion tourist industry. Australian authorities similarly have spoken of education for foreign students as an "export industry" which could yield as much as $A200 million a year in revenues. Estimates of foreign student expenditures in Canada go as high as $C400 million annually. Such revenues are non-trivial.

Beyond these immediate gains of either tuition or tourist revenues lies the commercial hope for long-term gain. Sometimes unspoken as a motivation for foreign student policies, this viewpoint is very candidly expressed by the Overseas Students Trust, itself a repository for humanitarian and idealistic visions of foreign student policies. What its statement presents as persuasive argumentation for Great Britain is applicable to all the countries that I visited:

> Overseas students who later attain positions of economic or political importance in their own countries can have a most beneficial effect on Britain's commercial relationships. They speak English, they may have acquired a taste for consumer goods of British design, they may be sympathetic to placing private or government contracts with British firms. An international "old-boy network" is built up.[2]

Patterns of Relationship: During my 1983 visit, I noted what appeared to be a newly expanded keenness of interest in what might be called peer relationships—that is, educational exchanges and cooperative activities between the industrilized countries themselves. This pattern has clearly strengthened over the past five years. The emergence of ERASMUS as a significant force in European educational exchanges is one evidence of the desire of the industrialized countries to benefit from increased personal and intellectual contacts. One sees similar patterns of interest in, for example, the Hautes Ecoles Commerciales in France, which seek out primarily Western students, or in the rapidly increasing pattern of joint scientific reseach projects among industrialized countries. Other tendencies are emerging as well. As universities across the world develop high levels of competence in particular areas of specialization, there is growing evidence for the globalization of knowledge, and the scientific community continues, together with the business community, to be our most internationalized. But the energy flow may fairly accurately be described as increasingly north-north rather than north-south.

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[2] Overseas Student Trust, The Next Steps: Overseas Policy into the 1990s, pp. 5-6.

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III. Challenges

The overarching challenge in regard to foreign students in coming years will be the rationalization and coordination of policy. Although most of the major receiving countries are increasingly attempting to clarify their policy-making in regard to foreign students, all of them suffer to a greater or lesser extent from fragmentation of responsibility, either between separate ministries, or between levels of government, or between government and educational institutions. The new coordinating mechanisms that several of the host countries have developed will no doubt help to avert the kind of catastrophe that affected Britain in 1979, but gaps and inconsistencies in the application of policies are still leading to uneven distributions of foreign students and, in some cases, to unreceptive enrvironments for them.

Even more important than the lack of appropriate internal organization in a number of countries is the lack of international cooperation and coordination. As pointed out during the recent IIE conference growing out of this study, (held in association with the Educational Testing Service at the Henry Chauncey Center in Princeton, New Jersey), broad international dialogue is still needed on such topics as codes of foreign student practice, international students' rights, unduly competitive recruitment practices, and—far more important at this time—shrinking flows of students from the developing countries. Improved and more timely data collection is unquestionably a necessity. It is very difficult to conduct comparative research without standardized bases. The new TRACE project (Trans Regional Academic Mobility and Credentials Evaluation) marks a good start in this direction, but further research and data analysis is necessary.

Within the large framework of foreign student policy directions, two educational issues seem to me paramount. One such issue relates to technological education. It involves such questions as the appropriate and practical levels of scientific and technical training for foreign students and appropriate mechanisms for technology transfer. The other, even more fundamental question, relates to culture: to persistent problems in intercultural relationships and to the need for renewed vitality in the more humanistic aspects of international education and exchanges.

Technological Education: As we have seen again and again, the most popular subjects for foreign students are science and engineering closely followed by management and business administration. The students themselves are choosing these paths, the sending nations tend to sponsor such students, and, as we have seen, the receiving nations also encourage the enrollment of gifted science and engineering candidates. But what is taught and what students believe they want is not always what the students or their countries need. Among the difficulties posed by the mastery of advanced technology are both its possible irrelevance or non-transferability to less developed countries and the difficulty of preventing the obsolescence of that mastery. Almost all the major host countries are currently addressing these problems. Germany with its short courses, on-site and dual country programs, as well as its new graduate programs especially geared to Third World needs appears to be the leader in this area. The other host countries are similarly increasing their efforts in these directions. Japan, Canada, and other countries are also beginning some systematic follow up ventures with foreign students. Although these efforts are partly motivated by a desire to keep in touch with potentially influential alumni, such programs also address the all-important problems of updating, as skills and knowledge acquired in advanced technological countries grow rusty with less technically sophisticated environments.

Resolving these questions of acquiring and maintaining appropriate skills for development will not be easy. To move too far ahead of current states of technological advancement is to produce frustration on return and perhaps to contribute to internal dislocations and environmental afflictions. To teach only that which is currently relevant is to short-change the future and to seem to embrace the growing of technological disparity between the developed and developing world. These issues transcend the foreign student question and can only be touched on here. But the foreign student, as so often, is a valuable key both to the understanding and solution of the problem.

Cultural Questions: The rise of science and technology also has bering on issues of culture since they both serve to create a common language—the language of rational, quantifiable inquiry. It is sometimes said jokingly that the international language of science is broken English, and it is certainly true that English has become a *lingua franca* among nations. More important than any common language, however, are the common values and suppositions shared by scientists, technicians, and businesspeople that help them to communicate. Accelerated by global economic patterns, which encourage such internationalized behaviors, the expansion of science and technologies is helping to break down some purely national barriers to international understanding and cooperation and helping to creat many powerful transnational ties.

But the creation of a growing international elite, whose education enables it to communicate freely and easily across boundaries, does not solve the challenges of culture for our foreign students. At the same time that the business world and the scientific world are breaking down barriers, many foreign students still must contend with hostile attitudes in their host countries. Labels and stereotypes are still forced upon them, particulary when they move off the campus and into the broader community. Part of the challenge that international education must face in coming years is the same one we see in the United States and in other increasingly heterogeneous societies—the need to commingle people from varied racial, ethnic, and religious groupings and to use the richness of their diversity constructively. Although foreign students would seem ideally suited to help break through such obstacles, they are often prisoners of their own visible identity as foreigners. In country after country, foreign students report discrimination and bigotry based on race and color as one of the major problems they must face. With the possible exception of Australia, whose foreign students, like everyone else, find it a friendly country, every study of foreign student attitudes toward their receiving countries reports discrimination and antagonism within the general population.

In helping to dissolve prejudices, the triumphs of technology help very little. The scientific disciplines create their own common culture—the terminology and assumptions of advanced technological societies. They do not help us understand different cultures. They do not help foreign students understand the culture they have entered. And they certainly do not help the host countries understand the cultures from which their students come. We are in danger of perpetuating cultural stereotypes and isolation even as we strive to overcome them.

The most difficult challenges for the '90s will be the need to address prejudice within the larger communities and to use international education, in all its ramifications and modalities, to help foster a genuine multiculturalism. Closely connected to these challenges will be the clear need for scholarship programs and other policy initiatives to redress the balance between students from richer and poorer countries. In a world in which education and access to education are the great dividers between wealth and poverty, equalizing the ability of able students from all countries to enjoy the benefits of an international education is a critical challenge. But as we seek to understand each other better, the mutual study of cultures and civilizations through increased study abroad programs and through international educational exchanges based on concepts of mutuality and parity will also grow in importance. Encouraging more foreign students to study the humanities and social sciences, fostering research programs in area studies and comparative culture, building international centers for the study of comparative culture and for the worldwide preservation of vanishing heritages must also be part of our international agenda. It is an effort that will require close international cooperation among many different kinds of institutions and agencies, and it is one that seems to me sorely neglected at this time.

The major receiving countries have made the choice for positive foreign student policies and the changes that have occurred within that framework are largely positive as well. But there are still challenges ahead: challenges of adequate and appropriate sharing of scientific and technical knowledge, challenges of equal access for students from all nations, and, the most difficult test of all, challenges of mutual understanding and interaction. Foreign students, internationally educated students, are our ambassadors to the future. The major receiving nations have made progress in clarifying and enhancing their foreign student policies in the past decade. They have been reasonably generous—at times quite generous—in sharing their educational resources with students from abroad. But no nation that I visited had as yet fully thought through its level of responsibility in regard to the educational needs of less developed countries as they relate to its own educational resources and expenditures. Neither had they developed a coherent educational philosophy that took advantage of the cultural richness that foreign students represent and of their potential usefulness in providing new knowledge and viewpoints. There is no reason to discourage the current energies based on self-interest that are expanding the opportunities for foreign students to study abroad. But the currently muted educational and humanitarian justifications for international education require more thoughtful and extensive discussion than they have had in recent years, and their values must also be enacted in policy. A new understanding of international education that includes some new directions for foreign student policy is both an obligation and an opportunity.

APPENDIX A

FOREIGN STUDENT POLICIES OF THE MAJOR HOST COUNTRIES

Henry Chauncey Center, Princeton, New Jersey

Sponsored by the Institute of International Education,
in association with Educational Testing Service

June 4-6, 1989
Conference Report

Participants and format

Thirty-five invited participants attended the conference, as well as eight members of IIE's staff and several members of the staff of ETS. The invited participants came from 13 different countries: seven "major host countries" (Australia, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and five "sending countries" (Colombia, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, and Thailand). (A list of the participants is appended.) Also represented was the ERASMUS Bureau of the European Community.

The focus of the conference was the report prepared by Dr. Alice Chandler, the President of the College at New Paltz of the State University of New York, based on interviews carried out in 1988 with policymakers and practitioners in the field of international education in all the major host countries except for the United States. Some, but by no means all, of those she had interviewed attended the conference. By discussing the implications of Dr. Chandler's report, the conference sought to achieve several purposes, among the most important being (1) the creation of greater awareness on the part of those involved in international student mobility of the views of their counterparts; and (2) a greater appreciation of broader contexts and trends affecting current and future policy choices in both host and sending countries.

Toward the conclusion of the conference, several participants stressed the value of new approaches to international student mobility. In the report that follows, therefore, there will be greater emphasis on efforts to reconceptualize problems and less attention to the discussion of equally important but more familiar issues.

Substantive issues

This report highlights only the most striking insights about international student mobility that emerged in the course of the conference.

1. Scale and composition of flows. In a group in which policymakers predominated, the question of the role of policymaking in the scale and composition of foreign student flows was a matter of great interest. Accordingly, William Cummings stimulated lively discussion by suggesting that the role of policy is constrained by "inevitabilities," i.e., by factors or forces largely beyond the control of policymakers, whether they are quite directly involved in international cultural/educational policy or less immediately in foreign or economic policy vis-a-vis "sending" countries.

A number of the participants indicated the ways in which recent policies were designed to shape student flows to their particular countries. Thus, Paul Hitschfeld of Canada described the increase in fellowships for students from developing countries and the special effort to enable women to obtain these fellowships; and Dorothy Davis of Australia explained that country's new "Equity and Merit" scholarship scheme. Without denying the importance of such programs, Cummings suggested that the role of government is largest when "new starts" are made and that, more generally, the best predictor of the scale of flows from a particular sending country is the scale of past flows.

"Inevitabilities" are somewhat different from the operation of "market forces," i.e., of abstention from positive, policy-based encouragement of certain kinds of international student flows and reliance, instead, on the ability of students in a given country to buy an overseas education at whatever prices it is being sold in the host countries. Alice Chandler emphasized the increasing income gap between Third World and host countries, commercialization seemed ominous to a number of participants. Emmanuel Obiechina of Nigeria eloquently explained that the application of market forces would be disastrous for Africa.

The relatively new ERASMUS program has already had a major impact on the scale and composition of worldwide and intra-European flows. Its effect in France has been to begin to counterbalance the long-dominant traditional rationale of "Francophonie." Alan Smith, the director of the ERASMUS Bureau in Brussels, suggested that on a small scale, policies and inevitabilities operate in the ERASMUS context as they do in the worldwide context. A powerful international policy is behind ERASMUS, which is designed both to enhance the pool of university graduates with the international experience necessary for Common Market operations and to help shape a "people's Europe." But the policy has to be implemented in the context of such inevitabilities as the dominance of student flows to Germany, France, and Britain, and the preference for fields like business, engineering, and foreign languages. It is evidence of the effectiveness of the policy that the flows both to and from France are approximately of the same magnitude under the ERASMUS program, while the "normal" flows to France are ten times larger than the outflows.

In this context, Caroline Yang of Japan made a pertinent comment, pointing out that inflows to Japan are a result of explicit policy, while outflows are a matter of "inevitability" or of "market forces." Japanese women, especially, are going abroad to acquire the kinds of skills that will enable them to get ahead in multinational corporations. Yet she noted also that the driving force of Japanese industrial success is bringing students to Japan.

An inescapable question is the extent to which the pool of mobile students is finite or, to put it another way, the extent to which host countries are competing for students. In William Cummings' view, serious competition is not likely. Dorothy Davis agreed that mobility generates more mobility: in the Australian case, the increased influx of foreign students is generating interest on the part of Australian students in overseas study. Also, as Australia increasingly sees herself as part of Asia, she becomes more involved in regional flows. Alan Smith made a strong statement to the effect that ERASMUS does not mean "Fortress Europe," because it would be "suicidal" for Europe to limit itself to intra-EC flows, and that, instead, ERASMUS is stimulating the expansion of all flows to and from the EC. And what is more, ERASMUS frees up funds for other exchanges.

Peter Williams of the United Kingdom agreed that there was little general competition among host countries but a certain amount of compartmentalized competition: thus, several host countries are recruiting students principally in Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, and (until the recent political upheaval) the People's Republic of China. But Kenneth Back of Australia took a somewhat dimmer view of the matter of competition, perhaps because the "compartmentalized competition" described by Williams affects Australia so strongly. He believes there is intense competition for students among the anglophone host countries, with undesirable effects. Indeed, he worried about some unscrupulous private agents who promote migration through ostensible higher education.

The session on the scale and composition of international student flows ended with suggestions of policy implications. William Glade from the United States urged special efforts at institution-building in the poorest countries. Martin Kenyon from Britain suggested that comparisons of the policies of the major host countries could provide useful ammunition for encouraging effective policy where it is lacking in particular countries: he had in mind what he sees as the excessively-strong linking of educational aid transfers to foreign policy in his own country. And William Cummings urged policy attention to an effective balance between the potentially competing interests of countries with a strong domestic demand for education and the interests of individual overseas students.

2. Significance for developing countries. In considering the implications of host country foreign student policies for the interests of developing countries, Frank Method challenged conventional assumptions about the benefits of support for overseas training to human capital development and encouraged a focus on the specific costs and benefits of training for specific purposes. Indiscriminate support of overseas training undermines the quality of local institutions of higher education and the likelihood of local university reform. New awareness of the pros and cons of overseas training is useful, even if it involves controversy, since it stimulates more informed choices.

Another issue that needs and is receiving reexamination is brain drain and brain gain. According to Frank Method, policies to deal directly with brain drain appear to be less and less effective, and protection against the loss of talent is needed really only by very small and/or poor countries. Only those countries, it was argued, cannot train or hold talent. The question arises, then, whether and to what extent labor markets are now open internationally. Such openness is important for the effective distribution of talent and expertise, but it raises, for the developed countries, issues of the politics of knowledge transfer and of knowledge as international property.

For such participants as Enrique Cardenas from Mexico, Emmanuel Obiechina from Nigeria, and Sediono Tojondronegoro of Indonesia, the brain drain issue has not changed as much as it has for those in countries like the

United States who now prefer to think in terms of the migration of talent. In these countries, by no means the smallest or poorest, there is sharp concern about the loss of individuals who receive advanced training overseas. They cannot as yet feel confident of the eventual reversal of migration from which Taiwan and Korea now benefit; indeed, with reference particularly to Zambia, Janet Bax from Canada noted that the return of experts is needed now, or it will be too late. Indeed, Sediono noted that Indonesia continues to need talent from other countries.

Various approaches to the mitigation of the loss of talent by countries that cannot afford such a loss were discussed. Linkages between institutions appeared to many to be a practical way of fulfilling necessary training functions and averting nonreturn. Davydd Greenwood described the two-way benefits that resulted from the longlasting relationship between Cornell University, his own institution, and the University of the Philippines at Los Banos. Such linkages are attractive, but the conditions under which they remain sustainable for long periods are elusive. Another approach is "sandwich" degrees—training partly in the host and partly in the home country. Norman Goodman noted that this approach failed in Sri Lanka, because the students suffered from too many conflicting advisers and some of them ultimately wanted U.S. degrees.

A somewhat different perspective on the impact of overseas training on developing countries was offered by Janet Bax, who suggested that these countries might at times lack the capacity to reabsorb highly-trained individuals. This may lead to quite drastic underemployment, a phenomenon that William Cummings labelled "brain waste." Even were donors to coordinate their support of training, it would be difficult to judge the scope for reabsorption. Peter Williams noted that countries often don't know how many of their nationals are studying abroad and what they are studying, and that there is no effective way to be concerned about absorption. (At the end of the conference, as noted again below, Frank Method made the very interesting point that a surplus of trained personnel is not necessarily a bad thing, and is indeed a positive stimulus to institutional change.)

3. Significance for institutions of higher education. While international student mobility affects universities in the host and the sending countries, the discussion dealt primarily with the host institution perspective. Craufurd Goodwin offered, from the U.S. perspective, a framework for examining why universities do or do not like international flows of students. Institutions have, briefly stated, educational and humanitarian considerations, economic interests, and concerns about the development of international perspectives on scholarly problems and of an international community of scholars. While for university administrators the economics of foreign students are complicated, primarily because of their interrelationship with the supply of domestic students and faculty in different types of institutions and fields and at different academic levels, Goodwin imputed to admistrators and faculty, at least those in the United States, generally positive views about the effects of foreign students on the quality of education and on opportunities to increase the internationalization of knowledge.

Some examples were offered of academic responses to what might be called broadly the internationalization of universities. William Cummings recalled that a National Science foundation program, the "Japan initiative," which offered U.S. scientists opportunities to know more about Japanese science and technology, encountered great difficulty in recruiting such scientists; especially the older scientists could not fit it into their plans. Goodwin noted that, by contrast, in some subdisciplines like marine biology, scientists were more positive, because of their awareness that knowledge "at the frontier" was being produced abroad. Alan Smith spoke on the basis of his European experience, where under particular conditions—the scale of institutions, the academic level of students—internationalization is coming to be seen as an essential component of improved education. He cited as examples the increasing reality of professionalization through foreign study, increasing interdisciplinarity of the curriculum (because home and host country disciplines do not fully mesh and because there is more emphasis on problem-oriented courses), and innovations in pedagogy.

Other European participants offered additional insights. Manfred Stassen of Germany urged more research to establish the differences in the impact of foreign students on the university world in different countries. His compatriot, Karl Roeloffs, exposed some unexamined assumptions: that a 5 percent or 10 percent foreign student component is a "good thing" in that it makes universities universal. Martin Kenyon from Britain noted that in his country also the arbitrary assumption prevailed that 10 percent is good and 25 percent is too many.

In France, according to Pierre Collombert, there is a concern in many universities about the disproportionate and sometimes increasing enrollment of inadequately qualified students from developing countries. A salient concern is the quality of the education received by the best French students in the best institutions, and in those institutions there are generally very few foreign students. Yet there are many foreign students in other universities, especially those in urban areas.

In the developing world, internationalization has somewhat different implications. In African universities, it has meant a decrease in expatriate faculty, according to Emmanuel Obiechina, and a greater need for indigenous faculty. By contrast, Jaime Barrera of Colombia stressed the important extent to which internationalization produces a valuable interdependence: it enables Colombian academics to "be part of the game" to be open to foreign ideas and values, and to be part of policymaking with regard to internationalization itself.

The session concluded with observations by Glenn Shive about changes in the language describing international student flows in the sending countries from "dependency" to something less shrill. And in the receiving or host countries, the metaphors or buzz words have also changed, with market metaphors juxtaposed with language about international understanding and about knowledge transfers. He wondered whether the use of Cold War and security rationales for international study would diminish with the easing of East-West relations.

4. Policymaking severally and jointly. Stimulated by a description by Cassandra Pyle of the lack of centralized policymaking in the United States, several participants described the process of policymaking in their countries: Martin Kenyon did so for the United Kingdom and James Fox for Canada.

The participants responded very positively to suggestions—developed jointly by Ken Back, Martin Kenyon, Dick Dye, Cassandra Pile, Jack Reichard, Jim Fox, and Peter Williams—to the effect that sufficient common interests had emerged at the conference to warrant the establishment of an informal "international coalition" paralleling national efforts to exert a positive influence on policymaking on issues of international student mobility. At the very least, such a coalition might consititute a mechanism for continuing dialogue, the sharing of information, and the improvement of data, especially data about the economic dimensions of international student mobility. Effective representation of the point of view of the "sending" countries was strongly recommended.

Peter Williams noted that among the issues dealt with by the Commonwealth Secretariat, student mobility is a salient one, and he went on to suggest a number of matters that a "coalition" might appropriately address: codes of practice, international students' rights, the collection of accurate and comparable data, branch campuses, twinning or linkage models. Other topics suggested by Williams included policy and instruments to encourage study abroad by students in developing as well as developed countries, and how developing countries might be assisted in receiving developed country students. The matter of data raised the complicated question of the desirable extent of involvement of Unesco in such an effort.

Further issues for follow-on activity were suggested by several participants. Alice Chandler's suggestions included: "beyond commercialism, what?" because market forces work imperfectly, especially for poor countries; and "beyond commercialism, why?" because the integration of self-interest rationales and humanitarian rationales is most likely to be effective. Frank Method urged attention to the mechanisms for cooperation, across rich and poor countries; to the distinctions between international education issues and foreign student issues, which includes defining such categories as "foreign students" and "developing countries;" and examining new realities "beyond development," in which surpluses of trained personnel are not a bad thing but, instead, constructive.

Some practical agenda items for the suggested "coalition" came from Agustin Lombana of Colombia. It could give the kind of attention to training priorities that used to come from the private foundations; to the problems in developing countries with regard to the dissemination of needed information; and to reaching economically-disadvantaged students who might benefit from overseas study. Manfred Stassen of Germany also suggested topics for follow-up: new paradigms for exchanges, new forms of exchanges, the problem of camparable data (such as are being collected by the TRACE project, Trans Regional Academic Mobility and Credentials Evaluation), and the need for research and the dissemination of research (such as the study of Japanese and German returnees from study in the United States). Jaime Barrera added to this agenda the communication of emerging key concepts and metaphors. And Caroline Yang urged attention to a key actor in the mobilization of opinion about international student flows, the press.

Richard Dye of IIE undertook to take the lead in exploring the "coalition" idea, together with Cassandra Pyle and Jack Reichard. A paper would be drafted, outlining the possible scope, role and rationale of an informal coalition circulated to all conference participants. At least one individual per country would be identified to serve as a national communications link to others in the coalition, which would be composed of individuals rather than official institutional representatives. Efforts would be made to convene periodic meetings of the coalition, focused on a specific agenda, rather than added on to other conferences and meeting simply to confer in general terms.

APPENDIX B

COMPARATIVE FOREIGN STUDENT EXPENDITURES

Country	Total Expenditure	Enrollment	USA Equivalent	Amount per Student
Britain	£ 96 million	64,000	$175 million	$ 2,600
France	FF 8 billion	124,000	$ 1.3 billion	$10,000 +
Germany	DM 1 billion	77,445	$ 2.0 billion	$25,000 +
Japan	¥ 12 billion	25,643	$ 80 million	$ 4,000
Australia	$A 85 million	16,000	$ 64 million	$ 4,000
Canada	$C 60 million	37,000	$ 54 million	$ 1,500

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY FOREIGN STUDENT ENROLLMENTS *

Receiving Country	Number of Foreign Students Enrolled in Post Secondary Education	Percent total Post-Secondary Enrollment	Major Countries/ Regions of Origin	Graduate Enrollments	Leading Enrollments by Academic Subject
Great Britain	64,400 (30% female)	10.7%	Hong Kong, USA, Greece, Malaysia, Singapore; developing countries falling	36.6% of all graduate enrollments; 52.4% of all graduate enrollments in science and engineering	40% science and engineering; 25% administration and management
France	124,000 (33% female)	12.5%	57% Africa; 83% developing	33% of foreign students enrolled in 3rd cycle compared with 14% of French students	36% literary studies; 23% science
Germany	77,445	5.5%	Iran, Turkey, Greece, Indonesia; enrollments from EEC countries rising	N.A.	27% engineering; 14% science and mathematics

* Based on most recent available data for each country. Not all data bases are completely comparable.

SUMMARY FOREIGN STUDENT ENROLLMENTS*

Receiving Country	Number of Foreign Students Enrolled in Post Secondary Education	Percent total Post-Secondary Enrollment	Major Countries/ Regions of Origin	Graduate Enrollments	Leading Enrollments by Academic Subject
Japan	25,643 (university only) (30% female)	1.2%	88.9% Asia	36% of foreign students enrolled at graduate levels; heavy concentrations in several major universities	20.3% engineering
Australia	17,655 (36% female)	4.5%	88% Asia; 6% Oceania (50% Malaysia)	25% of foreign students enrolled at graduate level	50% undergraduates business administration, economics, engineering
Canada	37,100 (enrollments declining) (35% female)	4.8%	Hong Kong, USA, PRC, Malaysia, Singapore	10% of foreign students enrolled at graduate level	20% commerce, management, business administration, economics; 11% computer science

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* Based on most recent available data for each country. Not all data bases are completely comparable.

APPENDIX D

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